

INSIDE: BLACK AND WHITE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE

Maclean's

MARCH 14, 1988

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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Austria Faces Its Nazi Past

—
The Hitler Legacy

—
How Kurt Waldheim
Is Dividing The Nation



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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MARCH 14, 1994, VOL. 102 NO. 12

COVER

Austria's Nazi past

As Austria prepares this week to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Anschluss—Adolf Hitler's annexation of his native land in 1938—the country is forced to examine its war record, while President Kurt Waldheim comes under increasing pressure to resign over attempts to conceal his own service in the Nazi-occupied Italian.

—Page 20

COVER PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE/GETTY IMAGES



Old divisions in the South

The disparity between blacks and whites in the U.S. South was expected to result in a high turnout of black voters in this week's 26-state Super Tuesday primary.

—Page 32



Life inside the wire

About 30,000 Vietnamese refugees are still confined in overcrowded internment camps as Hong Kong tries to turn back the exodus across the South China Sea.

—Page 52



New style in New Brunswick

In the five months since he became a premier without an opposition, Liberal Frank McKenna has shown a willingness to seek advice and take decisive action.

—Page 18



Lost in the City of Light

Roman Polanski's movie *Fanny*, starring Emmanuelle Béart and Harrison Ford in a Paris thriller, reveals the director's feelings about his own bizarre life.

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LETTERS

Short-term gain

It was with disbelief that I read "Killing for Losses" (Canada, Feb. 22). Not only is the government promoting a free trade deal that will deminish any east-west rivalry of the northern half of North America, but now it is turning to supporters of Quebec independence to revive its flagging fortunes in Quebec. Short-term gain, long-term loss. Was the reporter who interviewed Lucien Bocharad able to elicit a tepid endorsement of Canada? No. And when asked to clarify his position on Quebec independence, Bocharad disavowed and spoke of "nostalgia." The emphasis left this man is that of one who is merely biding his time until Quebec independence upon becoming an issue. No one is quarrelling with his right to promote his own views. But what is he doing as Canada's representative in Paris?

—DANIEL ROY/BOULON
Toronto

The envy of the world

Regarding "Obstacles to free trade" (World, Feb. 15), the U.S. Congress and the American people are pro-business, and if business prospers so do its employees. Our greatest threat to free trade and trade in general is the power-hungry union leaders, who will, if not rivaled, give our products out of their marketplace. If Canada and the Americans are able to strike a deal, Canada will be the envy of the world. The Europeans, the Australians, the Asians are buying Canadian companies no doubt in anticipation of free trade and access to the richest market in the world. We see fortune to



Bocharad' speaking of nostalgia

have neighbors like the Americans and will be doubly fortunate with the free trade deal.

—LOUIS DUCLOUX
Troisrivières, Ont.

Half the story

In reporting the effects of aspirin in the physicians' health study ("Countering heart attacks," Medicine, Feb. 8), you told only half the story. Yes, there were fewer acute myocardial infarctions in the nearly five-year period, but the number of deaths was the same whether the doctors consumed aspirin or placebo; aspirin did not prolong life. Moreover, among those who took aspirin, death from stroke occurred three times more often, sudden deaths were 1 1/2 times more frequent, and other cardiovascular deaths nearly twice as likely. Shifting the cause or likelihood of death from cardiovascular disease from one category to another is scarcely cause for celebration. —JOYCE WETTLIN, Lexington, Mass.

In response to "Countering heart attacks," I feel very strongly that the public needs to be cautioned against self-medicating with aspirin. Chronic usage can lead to many dangerous and life-threatening side effects. Your article has made light of these. A few years ago I looked after an otherwise normal and healthy 30-year-old woman. She lost both her kidneys due to aspirin's toxic side effects. When I last heard, she was on a waiting list for a kidney transplant. Aspirin causes a little more than just "gastric-traited discomfort and bleeding." People need all the facts so that they can weigh the benefits and the hazards and then make their own informed decisions.

—CAMERIE LIND EN,
Calgary

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply return address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to Letters to the Editor, Medicine magazine, Macmillan Health Care, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5S 1A7.

PASSAGES

DECEASED: Renowned classical violinist Henryk Szeryng, 68, of a cerebral hemorrhage, in Kassel, West Germany. The Polish-born musician and pianist-virtuoso, especially noted for his mastery of the Romantic repertoire, gained fame by his appearances before Allied troops during the Second World War, then from concerts and records around the world and from his many recordings. After the war broke out, Szeryng—who spoke eight languages—became liaison officer and interpreter for Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorski, premier of the Polish government in exile. In 1941, they went to Latin America in search of a home for 4,000 Polish refugees. Mexico accepted them, and Szeryng became a Mexican citizen in 1944.

DECEASED: Noted Canadian naturalist, artist and author Hans Albert Bachmann, 71, of a heart attack, in hospital at Portage la Prairie, Man. From 1938 to 1970, Bachmann was the director of the nearby Delta Waterfowl Research Station. He was made a member of the Order of Canada in 1979.

DECEASED: French actor Jean Le Poulain, 63, of a heart attack, at his Paris home. After a 40-year stage career, Le Poulain was appointed administrative director of the 300-year-old Comédie-Française in 1969. He was most famous for his comic roles in the French classics, but also received wide praise for his tragic roles. His autobiography is titled *I Will Have the Last Laugh*.

DECEASED: Stage and movie actor Joe Bonser, 58, a former member of the Three Stooges comedy team, in his Los Angeles home. The polka former vaudeville star replaced Shemp Howard in 1955 and played the character Joe until 1969. A running gag involved fellow Stooge Moe Howard slapping Joe around, who would respond with a whim, "Ouch, you creep."

SENT TO TRIAL: Former world heavyweight champion Trevor Berbick, 36, in a charge of sexual assault in connection with an incident that a 19-year-old girl says occurred in Halifax in August, 1985. Jamaican-born Berbick, a former Halifax resident and former Canadian and Commonwealth heavyweight champion, briefly held the World Boxing Council title before losing to Mike Tyson in Las Vegas in 1986. Provincial court Judge Richard Randall, who presided over Berbick's preliminary hearing in Halifax, ruled that there was sufficient evidence to warrant a trial, scheduled for September. The judge released Berbick on his own recognizance. Berbick denies the charge.



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CLOSE-UP: LEN CARIOU

A star in his prime

It was a happy ending to a sad story typical of Broadway. When the real-life Toddy and After closed in a January slump after a two-month run of half-full houses, actor Len Cariou, who played President Theodore Roosevelt, was devastated. "I just wasn't ready to say goodbye to that part," recalled Cariou late last month. Everything about the five-week extravaganza had been discussed by critics—everything, that is, except Cariou's own energetic performance. But before the curtain came down

five-foot, 18-inch height, the stocky 49-year-old actor has a larger-than-life stage presence. "Len was my first choice—he is simply outstanding," said *Flagship* producer Harold Pincus. "It's a risk because he is unfamiliar to British audiences, but I know they will come to love him."

The youngest of five children in a close-knit French-Irish family, Cariou loved performing even at an early age. He was always in demand as a singer, recalled his sister Doris Mita, particularly for weddings—and showed few inhibitions anywhere. "Once, in Minneapolis, we all went to a bar but left Leonard outside. He was only 12," recalled Mita, who still lives in Winnipeg. "When we came out, there he was on the hood of dad's car, surrounded by people, singing Johnnie Ray's Cry."



Leontine (right) and Cariou in Broadway Toddy's British debut

on *Toddy and After*, Cariou was considering—and soon accepted—an offer that any actor would, as the saying goes, bid for the lead in *Flagship*, a new musical about the vaudeville impresario set to open in April in London's West End. It will be a new arena for the Winnipeg-born bantam, for a decade one of North America's theatre's leading men. "I just go on," said Cariou. "That sparkling good always comes out of a loss."

Cariou is quick to credit nearly 38 years of success in the theatre to luck, good timing—and the help of mentors like former Stratford artistic director Jekka Hurck. But the actor known best as the musical's neighbors of Stephen Sondheim's 1979 hit, *Swingway Todd*, has rarely lacked work. Audiences have come to know Cariou's familiar grin and malleable face—and despite his modest

role, as the character of Dorian, Hurck, came after he barnstormed a family friend at Winnipeg's Rainbow Stage, Tom Hendry—later founder of Toronto's Free Theatre—for an audition with director John Hirsch. Cariou got in, but almost quit when Hirsch decided on daytime rehearsal. "I was 18, newly married, expecting a baby and I was selling men's clothing,"

he said. "You couldn't save a living as an actor then." Henry Gould, proprietor of the toy retailer's shop where Cariou worked, changed his mind. Rejected Cariou. "He said, 'Obviously this means something to you, go and do it.' I think he thought I'd get it out of my system."

Cariou quickly became a mainstay at the new Stratford Theatre Centre, which Hirsch and Hendry founded in 1956. "Hirsch taught me how to talk on stage," declared Cariou. After stints at Stratford, then at The Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis, Cariou moved on to Broadway. The role of Bill Sampson opposite Lauren Bacall in *Apocalypse Now* earned Cariou a Tony Award nomination; he also became romantically involved with Bacall. Cariou was booked—and so was producer Harold Prince, who cast Cariou as the lead in

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Stephen Sondheim's *A Little Night Music* in 1972 after Curcio auditioned for a much smaller role. "I got a bad set of circumstances," said Scott McLean of *re's Night Heat*, who acted with Curcio as Sondheim, "when I think of the people he has been able to work with, who have pushed him to considerable achievements."

Curcio returned to Canada as artistic director of the Manitoba Theatre Centre in 1975. But the actor was back in New York within three years. Sondheim was at work as a ground-breaking new musical character—reportedly with Curcio in mind. Sondheim told the latter story of a murderous barber, was a tour de force for Curcio, ideal for his physical, instinctive approach to acting. Curcio, living at the time with actor Glenn Close, scored a Tony for the role—opposite Angela Lansbury, with whom he has since performed as her TV series *Murder, She Wrote*.

After *Severely*, some observers wondered whether Curcio would find other roles as fulfilling. The actor is proud of a 1986 off-Broadway performance in Joseph Papp's *David Foster's Madder Class*, which earned New York critic Clive Barnes said was "incident." He added, "Curcio is a very fine actor—not just a musical performer." But Curcio's acting has occasionally been criticized for a lack of vulnerability and depth. "He is in some ways not a natural actor," admitted Barnes. "A great deal of technique comes into play." But, added Barnes, "he is an introverted actor who forces extremely performances, and I find that an interesting tension. What he does is superb."

Fin is one reason that Curcio has not yet conquered. Although his screen roles have included a lead in Alan Alda's 1981 *The Four Seasons*, Curcio said that he decided against a film career after some early disappointments. "I thought, 'Okay, now I'm going to become a movie star,'" recalled Curcio with a rueful laugh. "I was up for good roles in *Four Seasons*, two of them *The Godfather* and *Deliverance*. But they changed their minds. I was going to tell myself, 'Then, I thought, 'Do what people are asking you to do, and I took a stage offer.'"

In the uncertain world of theatre, whether the role of showman Florence Bagfield will be Curcio's next great role remains to be seen. But the actor, now living in London with his third wife, Beulah, Ont-born actor Heather Simonshay, meant to end his time at the show, in which he sings bits by great songwriters of the era. "And we are playing the London production," said Curcio with characteristic matter-of-factness. "That is not chopped liver."

—JULIA BENNETT

LETTER FROM VIETNAM

Peace without prosperity

Thirteen years ago, in April, U.S. forces reentered Saigon, leaving the economy ravaged by years of warfare. Since then, the victorious northern forces have done little to improve the country's financial conditions. The nation has remained one of the poorest in the world, and runaway inflation and a decline in agricultural and industrial production have only worsened the problem. Despite that, many Vietnamese retain a sense of optimism about the future. *Maclean's* Correspondent Peter Wilson recently spent two weeks travelling through Vietnam and filed this report.

On a tree-lined street in Hanoi, the capital of Vietnam, a young couple parks an East German-built motorcycle beside a bench and looks out over a picturesque lake. The water is peaceful, but an antiaircraft gun mounted in a display only 100 m away evokes a time when U.S. bombers dropped tons of explosives on the city. But Thach and his girlfriend, Le Bich Lam, say they do not want to talk about war. Thach, 35, is studying pharmacology and as a student he is able to defer his compulsory service in the more than one-million-member Vietnamese armed forces—one of the largest standing armies in the world. If he had to serve, Thach would probably be sent to the heavily fortified Chuoinh border or to Kampuchea, occupied by Vietnam since the country deposed the Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot in 1979. "I will protect my country if necessary," Thach said. But, he added, "warfare slows our progress. I would rather ride my motorcycle."

Beyond Thach, the dusty road that leads to downtown Hanoi carries a steady stream of battered and smoking trucks, grimy buses bulging with passengers, one-poled carts and bicycles—part of the daily sea of congestion that swarms over the city of 54 million people. The decrepit machinery and primitive modes of transport are a telling sign that the country's reunification under the North's Communist regime

has produced few benefits. Vietnam is desperately poor—and its desperate need of modernization. The Soviet Union pumps about \$1 million a day into the Vietnamese economy. But agricultural and industrial production have stagnated—leading to the introduction of rationing reforms in the country.

These reforms include a shift from a centrally planned economy toward a system that allows some degree of capitalism. The changes have also brought greater freedom of the press. Nguyen Tu Huyen, deputy editor-in-chief of Hanoi's



Thach and Lam (right), "warfare slows our progress"

English-language *Vietnam Courier*, told me that newspapers are now free to report on any matter affecting military or state secrets. He said that reporters have exposed industrial inefficiency, lazy bureaucrats and crooked officials. But, he maintained, "we are on the road to reform."

That road may be a long one. A short distance from Hanoi, a village of 150 people about 80 km south of Hanoi, a massive Soviet-flashed hydroelectric dam on the Black River is near completion. The site is protected by yet another manifestation of Russian and northern-war muscles. Set in the village itself, tucked into a valley between rice paddies and banana plantations, people are living in thickened-roof houses lit with small oil lamps. Some of them are le-

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borners in the dias, but they also tell the land that their ancestors have cultivated for generations.

Nguyen Van Thau, 40, is a former village leader who fought as a guerrilla against the French, Vietnam's former colonial rulers. That lost her right leg to a French land mine. But he said he does not regret his injury. "It was a fight for our freedom, for our land," he said. Still, he added that, despite Vietnam's present problems, life is better for the villagers. "We have schools nearby and a health clinic," he said, puffing on a long bamboo pipe. "And we do not have to fight."

On the Yen Do collective farm just outside Hanoi, peasants also say that conditions have improved. Despite the country's troubled agricultural sector, the collective is prospering. The techniques are primitive, there are no tractors, and water buffaloes do most of the heavy work. But all of the 6,800 residents now live in brick houses instead of mud huts—as was common in the past. The collective also has its own schools and health clinic, and TV sets are common in many households.

As well, the collective boasts an embroidery and rug-making business. In the embroidery shop, women work on cloth intended for export, chatting easily among themselves. Nguyen Thi Thau, a woman in her early 30s, ap-



Silver dagger in Hanoi: industrial inefficiency, some corrupt bureaucrats

plies her needle to a bedspread. It will take her 20 hours to finish it, she says. When I ask her what she and her co-workers talk about, she giggles without missing a stitch. "Love and boy-friends," she says.

It is a peaceful scene. But 18 years after the American evacuation, re-

minders of the war remain. In Ha Chi Minh City, formerly Saigon, Lily with peasants outside the Independence Hotel. She is one of the thousands of children fathered by U.S. servicemen. Her strikingly beautiful features are more Caucasian than Oriental as she smiles at hotel patrons who come and go.

Prior to my arrival in Vietnam I had read reports that American children were discriminated against by the Vietnamese. But many seem at ease in Vietnamese society, mixing well among their friends. A half-kiss from the old presidential palace, where in April, 1975, North Vietnamese tanks smashed through the iron gates, a group of children sit on a park. As I pass, they point at an American youth sitting with them. One calls out at me, "Take him." It is said with a smile.

Since 1975, American officials have moved about 4,000 Americans to the United States, and, under a U.S.-Vietnamese agreement reached last September, as many as 30,000 more will eventually be resettled. Many Americans in Vietnam who are searching for their U.S. fathers try to enlist the aid of Western visitors. Often, they pass along notes that contain nothing more than the U.S. location and name of their parent. But Lily does not bother visitors about her father. Instead, in reasonably good English she politely asks for one small favor: "If you have any toothpaste or shampoos that you are not going to take home," she says, "I would like to have it, please." She makes the request with the grace that I have found common among people in this long-suffering land.

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Devotions claim that they and relaxation—and even increase sexual pleasure. Whatever their appeal, sensory deprivation tanks quickly became popular across North America after their introduction in California in the late 1960s. The coffin-like containers, filled with salty water, enable

a person to float in total darkness, isolated from the noises of the outside world—a method that practitioners say enhances the senses. The fad led to the making of the 1980 movie *Altered States*, about a scientist who, by using a nose drug while enclosed in a sensory deprivation tank, regressed through

millions of years of human development to become a prehistoric man. Then, in 1985, New York City-based Ayon Sensory Inc. and Tark Associates Inc. introduced the flotation rooms—sometimes known as a "weight room"—several times as spacious as the original tanks. Since then, operators have established flotation-room centres in some Canadian cities, including Ottawa and Halifax.

The six-by-six-foot, dimly lit rooms—with adjoining showers and change areas—resemble luxurious private Roman baths. For a meagre charge of \$65, a customer spends an hour bobbing helplessly in a pool containing 1,400 lb of Epsom salts in about 11 inches of skin-temperature water. The customer can float in silence or listen to music or motivational tapes. In the case of Halifax's ALAN Flotation Systems Inc., which opened a flotation-room centre in that city in December, 1986, a floater can also watch educational videotapes. Program director Wendell White says that ALAN's rooms are designed for the successful executive. "He has lost tools and toys for his boys," he said, "that is what we are about."

In Ottawa, Allan Cleves, owner of the Crystal Sens Float Centre—a four-room facility opened last October—said that some of his customers are trying to relieve pain. "Floating is probably one of the most effective treatments for arthritis and chronic pain," he said. "It does not cure it—but it helps." Cleves at Crystal Sens may choose to float in swimwear or in the buff. And Cleves says that although most of the customers are professionals, some are taxi drivers and students.

Flotation adherents say that the rooms may help to bring the benefits of the positive to a wider public. For one thing, many people are hesitant to expose themselves in the small sensory-deprivation tanks. Rod D. Bernard, L.M.S.W., an Ottawa physician and the author of three books on natural healing. "The rooms—with their dim lights and open space—help people get adjusted more easily."

With close to 200 flotation per week in total. Frequenting the Halifax and Ottawa centres, the popularity of flotation rooms appears to be strong. In Los Angeles, Lee Perry, chairman of the Flotation Tank Association, an international organization representing flotation manufacturers, retailers and experts, said, "Response has been very positive." In April ALAN intends to open a flotation-room facility in Toronto's post-Yorkville area. Its patrons will join the 30,000 Canadians who have already resorted to the temptation of floating their troubles away.

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Under Hussein's shadow

lently critical Amnesty International, for one, in its 1987 international report expressed its concern over "the widespread arbitrary arrest and detention of hundreds of political prisoners, the routine use of torture by the security forces and the large number of judicial and extrajudicial executions, including executions for political offenses."



troops, threshing wheat, chatting with a peasant woman. But the president's benevolent mask cannot disguise the fact that Iraq, now in its eighth year of war with neighboring Iran, is a repressive state. Uttering statements critical of the government can result in long prison sentences. Dissent in the Shiite Eastern country of 37 million has been all but crushed. And as one experienced Western diplomat said, "This is a bloody, brutal regime. There is a palpable fear here that deepens the sense. Frankly, I have never been in such a dreadful place."

For visitors to Iraq, government regulations can often appear as nothing more than a nuisance. Visiting journalists cannot take in typewriters—they are all but prohibited to present the spread of autogovernment, and they are not permitted to photograph. Women are strictly controlled. No foreign newspapers or magazines are allowed into the country, and international telephone calls are restricted. But for native Iraqis, the repression can often be more subtle. Among the most striking is the ban on all foreign news reports and broadcasts from Iraq, a ban that has been demanding more autonomy and where such freedoms have aligned with Iraq. In late 1985 such a ban was lifted, and Iraqis were permitted to see "foreign news," but it seemed to appear retaliation for the political activities of members of their families," according to Amnesty. The fate of most of them is still unknown, but in January 1986, three of them apparently died in custody as a result of torture, and in January 1987 another died in custody. In 1986, a husband of a detainee, resident of Iraq, was

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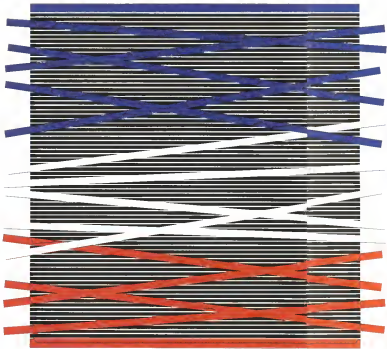


These findings are consistent with Mandayil

Propositions

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by Jean Soto



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"Some had had their eyes gouged out, and their bodies, which were returned to their families, bore the marks of torture."

On the streets of Baghdad, the government's methods have clearly had an effect on Iraqis. Few are willing to speak to outsiders. In fact, Western diplomats—Canada maintains ambassadorial relations with Iraq—report that Iraqis seldom accept social invitations from foreigners. And even in their own homes, many Iraqis refrain from criticizing the regime. One reason:



Iraqis in Baghdad with pictures of massacre: restraining from criticism

fair share of Iraq's heavy and slower field. But although Western cartoons can be seen daily on Iraqi television, the regime's pro-government indoctrination is evident in the regular TV coverage of schoolchildren singing in praise of Hussein. Children—often as young as 6—appear dressed in army uniforms. "I have a five-year-old who loves to paint, but I am worried," added the father. "All he wants to paint is helicopters and tanks."

their craft by pasting canvases of Hussein—at the war front, in conference with troop commanders, surrounded by children, in the marshes along the Iraqi-Iranian border. The president's cult of personality has even led to a gentle Iraq joke: "What is Iraq's population?" The answer: 34 million—17 million Iraqis and 17 million pictures of Hussein. The joke is told quietly—and rarely.

—CAROL BIEDGER in Baghdad

But at the same time, Hussein's regime has enacted several progressive social programs. Among them: campaigns to improve health standards and literacy. And Iraq's policy toward women has been called the most enlightened in the Arab world. Under Baath party legislation, Iraqi women enjoy equal rights. About 25 per cent of the labor force is made up of women, and in 1985 women occupied 35 of the 150 seats in the national assembly.

Meanwhile, the indoctrination of Hussein continues. Art students learn to draw Hussein in the style of the war hero, in conference with troop commanders, surrounded by children, in the marshes along the Iraqi-Iranian border. The president's cult of personality has even led to a gentle Iraq joke: "What is Iraq's population?" The answer: 34 million—17 million Iraqis and 17 million pictures of Hussein. The joke is told quietly—and rarely.

—CAROL BIEDGER in Baghdad



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COLUMN

Keeping the creditors at bay

By Diane Francis

Dome Petroleum has been at the brink for six long years, but it looks as though the men may finally be resolved with the company's pending sale to the Canadian subsidiary of a cash-rich giant, Chicago-based Amoco Corp. Dome's rescue is fascinating, but it underscores how unfixed the economic playing field is in this country. Dome's bankers have had the patience of Job when it comes to waiting for payments on the \$6.5 billion that Dome owes. Many of the same banks have rarely, if ever, held the bag as long for homeowners, farmers or shopkeepers tied with their payments. Does it is a good example of how an enterprise can be snatched from the jaws of a horrendous bankruptcy that would take decades to unravel. The same support system should exist in Canada for smaller businesses, as is the case in the United States. Unfortunately, it does not.

Into this vacuum comes Harvie Andre, the latest quantum resistor to announce his intention to amend the Bankruptcy Act. Canada's current act has been around since 1949 and it is outdated, cumbersome and unfair. Andre proposes to fix it, but so no one is holding his breath. Six previous proposals to overhaul the act have died on the order paper since 1979, due to a combination of the efforts of banking lobbyists and lack of interest on the part of other legislators. But although good bankruptcy laws elude Canada, they should be an important consideration of any minority. Better legislation would allow troubled, but still viable, enterprises to avoid bankruptcies by keeping away predatory or foolishly impatient banks. And laws should also ensure that, once a bankruptcy is inevitable, all creditors get a fair share.

In the absence of any decent rules, the corporate carnage has continued unabated in Canada for decades. In 1986, according to federal figures, 6,502 businesses and 21,260 consumers went bankrupt. The debtors owed \$2.9 billion in unpaid debts, but their assets fetched only \$250 million. And wage arrears last about \$30 million in back pay because their employers went under.

But although past ministers failed to deliver the goods, Andre may be a little different. His candidate would negate effects of bankruptcy more than most, having been a director of Alcan's Celsco Ltd. The \$500-million real estate company went spectacularly bust in Calgary in

1979. "I do not know if Alcan could have been saved. I shouldn't comment because I was too close to the case," the minister told me. "But there are companies every day that go into bankruptcy and that could be saved."

Under the present act, secured creditors—those lenders entitled to seize assets in case of a loan default—must move in without notice to close down a company in arrears before other creditors have a chance to find out. A company may apply to a court to hold off creditors momentarily, after which it must file a proposal to reorganize or restructure the company. That reorganization plan must first be approved by at least half of the creditors representing 75 per cent of the money owed by the company, then by the courts. This is both difficult and expensive. That is why, for instance, in 1984 there were 11,806 personal and business bankruptcies, al-

The proposed reforms to Canada's Bankruptcy Act will provide breathing space for smaller, threatened enterprises

though only 368 such proposals were applied for in federal courts.

Already approved in principle by cabinet, Andre's reforms appear better than preceding efforts and will provide breathing room to smaller, threatened enterprises so that they can try to put off a Domes-style solution as well as better protect their workers. The amendments to the act would force secured creditors to give the company 10 days' notice before moving in. The company would then have 35 more days to get forward a rescue plan. Then creditors would have 21 additional days to either approve or reject it.

This is clearly an improvement, although it falls far short of the American-style bankruptcy relief first introduced in 1938 and now known as "Chapter 11." Under those laws, a U.S. court can grant debtors a breathing space of at least 120 days. That time is frequently extended by the courts, and after protection lasts for years. But, Andre told me, "the problem with Chapter 11 is that in the last few years it has been used to selfishly renege labor contracts, as in the Continental Airlines case, or to hide from contingent liabilities." In

Continental's case, new expensive labor contracts were held abeyance while Chapter 11 was in effect, thus allowing the struggling company to abrogate promises made to workers.

Continental convinced the court that it needed relief from the labor contract to survive—a valid argument that, in the long run, would save jobs. But banks, not unions, would be the biggest opponents to Chapter 11-type amendments in Canada because such changes would interfere with their "right" to pull the plug. Banks argue that Chapter 11 will result in tighter credit or higher rates for smaller or riskier companies.

Chapter 11 relief has enhanced, not hampered, small business south of the border. It has salvaged many viable businesses, which might have gone bankrupt in Canada. The most striking example involved Amco's third-largest oil company, Texas Inc., on the verge of bankruptcy in 1987. Houston-based Pennco Co. had successfully won a \$14.3-billion lawsuit against Texas, claiming that Texas had illegally interfered with its planned purchase of Getty Oil Co. Texas applied for Chapter 11 protection last April, which gave it relief from its creditors while it appealed the verdict. The case was finally settled out of court for \$29 billion in December, but Texas is still under Chapter 11 as it attempts to reorganize.

While Andre's proposals have shortcomings in some areas, they do protect workers. Under present laws, employees caught in a bankruptcy are entitled to only 500 cents in back pay, and only after other creditors are satisfied, such as banks, have claims. After those creditors have picked the company clean there is rarely anything left for workers owed more than \$500. Andre would allow workers to get up to \$10,000 in unpaid expenses incurred on behalf of their employer, as well as 90 per cent of their back wages, up to \$3,000. And Ottawa will reimburse any shortfalls.

If Andre's proposals become law, they won't completely level the playing field. Big banks lock after big businesses, and tend to cling to the Jones and Massey Pergande and Turbo Resources and other basket cases in the hope of turning things around. Meanwhile, bankruptcies continue at a rate of 600 a day. The new, even tougher legislation is imposed on our biggest banks, the carnage will continue among the little guys—a shameful waste of time, money and talent.



Determined first steps

The symbolism was undeniable. Until his defeat at the polls last Oct. 13, New Brunswick's former premier Richard Hatfield kept a government-owned 10-seat Deere/John Deere pickup plane for his frequent trips outside the province. But when Liberal Leader Frank McKenna succeeded Hatfield, he immediately announced plans to sell the plane and curb what he termed "extraneous and extravagant" government spending. Three weeks ago the 40-year-old McKenna made good on his promise, selling the two-engine plane to Air Vindale, a regional airline in France, for \$33,000. Declared McKenna last week in an interview with *Maclean's*: "We kept our word. That is extremely important, because we are going to be asking New Brunswickers to follow us in some difficult decisions."

Indeed, McKenna's willingness to tackle difficult issues is his first few months in office has had provincial and national repercussions. Within New Brunswick, he has won public praise for a series of belt-tightening measures on spending and for his efforts to open up the legislative process after his party's sweep of all 36 seats in the legislative assembly. Nationally, McKenna provided an important boost to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney who broke with federal Liberal Leader John Turner and Ontario Liberal Premier Doug Peterson to announce abandonment of Mulroney's free trade agreement with the United States. But he has not yet signed the Meech Lake constitutional accord and retains the power to scuttle the agreement, which must be adopted unanimously, if he does not sign by 1990. With hearings on constitutional amendments due later this year, McKenna has said that he plans to push for a revision of the agreed-upon amending formula and for increased protection for women and linguistic minorities.

At home, McKenna has won his strongest support for his efforts to establish a more austere style of govern-



McKenna: He flew (below) a grounded government plane and a belt-tightening program.

ment. Under Hatfield, the Conservatives won a reputation for lavish spending that angered many voters. By contrast, McKenna has imposed stringent personal spending guidelines on himself and government members. McKenna and his cabinet members now fly economy-class and book no-frills hotel rooms. Entertainment expenses, including liquor and cigarettes, can no longer be claimed as expense accounts. And many government civil servants are the premier's office building in downtown Fredericton have begun arriving at work by 7:30 a.m.—when McKenna usually begins working days that average 13 hours.

Meanwhile, voters have praised McKenna for the manner in which he has governed without

an official opposition. After the electoral defeat of the Conservatives and the NDP, his government announced measures designed to let parliamentarians group and other political parties make their views known more easily. The legislative library is open to the public for the first time, and the budget of his research department has been increased by \$250,000 to enable it to meet the new demand.

And the government has committed itself to reviewing all major legislation, including the provincial budget, to committees that will travel the province to solicit opinions. When the legislative assembly is in session, Conservative and NDP officials will be allowed to hold news conferences in the legislature. As a result, McKenna says that his gov-



ernment will be even more democratic than others have been in the past. "By creating better access and being more open, we can actually turn a disadvantage into an advantage," the premier said. "We are prepared to make absolutely anything possible."

Still, both the NDP and the Tories have sharply questioned that commitment to open government, citing McKenna's refusal to provide either party with the \$330,000 that New Brunswick has previously given for the funding of an opposition leader's salary and office. Instead, the Tories will receive \$50,000 and the NDP, \$55,000—figures based upon provincial legislation allowing them \$150 for each vote they received in the election. Declared Rinaldi Weir, executive director of the NDP: "It is hypocritical to say you are for open government and then not give the opposition."

The two opposition parties are still regrouping after their rout at the polls. Following the resignation of NDP Leader George Little last week—after failing to win a seat in the past two elections—neither of them has a permanent leader. The Tories, who formed New Brunswick's government for 17 years under Hatfield, are now struggling both politically and financially. Hatfield, who resigned on the night of the election, has since spent much of his time abroad and has made only sporadic public appearances. The interim Conservative leader, 40-year-old former Nanaimo-area businessman and former legislative assembly member Malcolm MacLeod, is struggling to hold the party together until a leadership convention is held in 1989. Last week the Tories gave up their traditional party headquarters in Fredericton's stately Lord Devereux Hotel and now share an office with the federal Tories in a converted downtown house. Still, MacLeod insists that the party's electoral wound has had some positive effects. Declared MacLeod: "It does tend to open up the party."

His part, but with the assembly opening on March 22 after a nine-month break, McKenna has set the decision of the Meech Lake accord and job creation as his priorities. The province's accumulated debt of \$2.5 billion—faced with these tasks, McKenna insists that he seldom even has time to reflect on the changes in his life since the election. "It is almost embarrassing, but I have never had a chance to really sit down and reflect on the fact that I am the premier of New Brunswick," he said. "I am still amazed."

—PHIL KRAMER with MARK TUNNEY in Saint John

Homosexual revelations

Two nights before his dramatic announcement, New Democratic Party MP Saúl Robinson placed a late-night call to a longtime friend, Massachusetts conservative Dan Frank, about their conversation, Robinson told

a *homosexual*. Said LaPierre, in front of a cheering audience that included Robinson: "It is actually a very emotional time for me. It is the first time that someone can write, without fear, about being used by my lawyers, that I am gay. I am gay."

But along with supportive statements from homosexual and gay-rights groups, the revelations, there were also negative reactions. At a news conference, Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine compared homosexuals with bank robbers in terms of their actual merit, adding, "I don't want my children thinking that this is a normal, reasonable thing to do." Robinson further antagonized homosexuals as a 3-2-1 fight's opponents when he told a television interviewer that there are homosexuals in both the Liberal and Conservative caucuses and in the federal cabinet. While NDP Leader Ed Broadbent called Robinson's defence,



Robinson: speaking press conference.

a Liberal charged that the statement was a slur against all MPs. Said Nova Scotia Tory Patrick MacNeil: "Now we are all tarred with the same brush."

Robinson later said that he had not meant to refer to any specific legislative or cabinet list simply to the existence of homosexuals in all walks of life. But in some observers, the incident seemed to typify a political career that has been marked by controversy. A lawyer and graduate of the London School of Economics, Robinson married in 1972 while still a law student at the University of British Columbia, but was separated three years later, and divorced in 1978. Since his 1986 election in 1982 he has earned a reputation for being bluntly outspoken. Robinson, who was born in St. Paul, Minn., married a

among his friends and acquaintances, but the Vancouver-area MP's public statement sent reverberations across the country. He tried it to coincide with the recent anniversary of the 1982 patriation of the constitution's undertaking to provide constitutional guarantees to protect homosexuals against discrimination on the grounds of their sexual orientation. Robinson said that, with his announcement, he wanted to get pressure on the government to act on Creble's commitment. But the announcement also had another unexpected effect: late last week well-known Vancouver writer and broadcaster Laurie LaPierre, 58, lost from 1986 to 1988 of the CBC's public-affairs program *This Hour* after Susan Deal, announced as a gay-rights rally in Ottawa that he, too, is

rebuke from Broadbent when he loudly heckled President Ronald Reagan during an address to the House of Commons last year and has been ejected from the Commons several times. In December, 1985, he was cited for contempt of court and fined \$150 for taking part in a Blackafrican demonstration to block logging operations on Yorkville Island, off the west coast.

Still, many homosexual-rights activists declared that they were delighted by Robson's announcement, which they said gives them their first high-profile political representation. John Campy, who was the provincial NDP secretary in Toronto's St. George-St. David riding in the 1987 Ontario election after declaring his homosexuality, said that Robson "will be an inspiration for teenagers who are frightened to admit their sexual orientation." David Campy "Now they can look at David and see that it is not a death sentence. David provides a very credible role model for gay people."

But questions remained over the effect that Robson's announcement would have on his party's high standing in public-opinion polls. With the star challenging both the Liberals and Tories in popularity, many New Democrats said that the announcement could hurt them among traditionally conservative rural and blue-collar voters. David, one party activist, "I think it will cost us tens of thousands of voters." But Winnipeg-based pollster Angus Reid said that he does not expect any negative impact. He added, "I do not think it is a big deal. I do not think it is like 30 years ago." Most Tories avoided commenting on the issue. Reid was senior Conservative official.

The best thing is to say absolutely nothing and let the reaction fall where it may," said another. "I hope we stay a million miles from it."

In one apparent reaction to Robson's announcement, vandals threw rocks through the window of his Burnaby constituency office. But Robson said that he did not mind any political effects, either personally or for his party, and many of his constituents declared their support. Said Paul Stevenson, a businessman who has previously voted for the Conservatives, "I am voting him a lifetime term on my open and admission. I am now going to vote for him and know that I am voting for an honest politician." Still, it remains to be seen whether Robson's initial apprehension about a public announcement was warranted.

—HELENE MACLEANE in Ottawa with
correspondent reports

Hunting for names

The document runs to only three typewritten pages, but it is the product of 18 months of research and it names names. Last week the Toronto branch of the worldwide Friends of Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies delivered the list of 21 people to Federal Justice Minister



Lithuanian anger and a desire for action

Ramona Hostenydyte. Called from previously unattended, long-ignored European emigration files, the list names former Lithuanian police officers who have been accused by the Lithuanian government of having murdered thousands of people during the Second World War. Declared Ignorant David, the Wiesenthal center's Jerusalem-based director of research, "The tragedy in this material was available 30 years ago. I stumbled onto it." The centre gave the list to Hostenydyte almost a year after the release of an 800-page federal government report on the Nazi war criminals prepared by Quebec Superior Court Judge Jules Deschamps. Centre officials said that they wanted to release pressure on the government to step up prosecution of suspected war criminals now living in the country.

In its report released on March 12, 1987, the Deschamps commission said

that there were 20 suspected war criminals living in Canada, but it did not make the names public. Three months later the government amended three pieces of legislation to allow prosecution of alleged war criminals. But since then there has only been only one arrest—of 76-year-old Imre Finta, who faces a preliminary trial hearing in September on charges of kidnapping and confining 5,655 Jews to work transport to death camps from his native Hungary. The government's lack of action in the other cases that Deschamps described as "urgent" has caused concern. Said David Matas, legal counsel for the Jewish War With League of Human Rights, "All we can hope for now is a measure of justice—and only if the government acts with urgency instead of this uncomprehending ploddingness." As well, Matas said that "corrosion machine" by the government now allow the individuals to leave the country before they can be prosecuted.

Still, several points remain in dispute, including the number of suspects still in Canada. Although the Wiesenthal centre once estimated that up to 6,000 war criminals are in the country, the commission, after 20 months of study, said that the report "seriously exaggerated." Instead, its addition to the 20 named by the commission, it listed 218 cases requiring either urgent action or further investigation. The centre's Canadian representative, Sol Lifkowitz, said that the list presented last week came from new analyses of passenger lists for ships leaving Europe after the war. Said Deschamps last week "If the names were not supplied to the inquiry, then this is new work for the government to undertake."

For Ignorant David, Hosten, the federal government's senior counsel for Crimes against Humanity and War Crimes, said that he is negotiating with some European countries to gain permission to interview witnesses and obtain documents. Ignorant David, the commission led the public expecting that we could start out on Day 1, but it is a monumental task." Until it is complete, Matas and many other Canadians will continue to insist that justice for war criminals should neither be delayed—nor denied.

—SHEILA AKENHEAD

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Montreal's Egyptian cinema is a hot bed over Quebec's controversial language laws

Protest at the theatre

The extremely ending left some fans frustrated and at least one Quebec government minister furious. On Feb. 18, during the same week in which the film *Broadcast News* received seven Oscar nominations, its Canadian exhibitors, Charles Odeon Corp., abruptly pulled it from Quebec theatres. The company initially offered no reason for the decision, but other people in industry-related positions, including Quebec Cultural Affairs Minister Luc Bouché, said that they knew what the company was doing. An angry Bouché accused the film's distributor, Astral Belvue Publ. Inc., of "playing a game" with the government to pressure it to withdraw planned changes to the province's Cinema Act.

Bouché's controversial measures would curtail the sale of many English-language films and increase the number of French-language movies shown in the province. Under the present terms of the act, which was passed in 1983, no movie can be screened for longer than 60 days unless a French-dubbed or subtitled version is made available, or in preparation Bouché's proposed changes will limit the time period during which English prints can be screened in the absence of an

equal number of French prints, and encourage dubbing to be conducted in Quebec rather than France. The amended law would also prohibit distributors to screen only one English print in the province unless the movie is dubbed in Quebec.

In the case of *Broadcast News*, the government gave it a 40-day screening permit effective last Dec. 23, then extended the permit to let it continue its run in three theatres until a French-dubbed version could be released. But Cineplex Odeon officials clearly wanted to take advantage of the movie's immense popularity to underscore their dissatisfaction with the proposed changes. One company official said privately that the company withdrew the movie despite the permit extension in order to respect "the spirit" of Bouché's amendments, which were passed in December. (The way the law will be applied will be decided this spring or summer, when cabinet approves regulations further defining the law.) Then, last Friday, the same day on which a dubbed French-language version opened in Montreal, Cineplex Odeon returned the English-language version to Montreal theaters.

Many film industry executives say that by rapidly enforcing dubbing—

which costs about \$55,000 per film—the law will have the effect of closing the Quebec market to low-budget films made in languages other than French. Said Toronto native Ted Kutchuk, director of such films as *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* and *Joshua Then and Now*: "It is ridiculous. The French cinema is much healthier than English cinema in Canada."

But defenders of the proposed legislation accused Cineplex of distorting the interpretation of the law in order to win over public opinion. Declared André Gauthier, president of the province's Cinema Board, which oversees implementation of the Cinema Act: "There will be consultations with the industry before anything is passed. This isn't Châteaueau."

It's a democratic society. What are they trying to prove? As well, many filmmakers (the-makers) support the legislation, which they regard as a necessary step against the domination of English-language movies in the province's theatre. A recent study has shown that the dominance of English-language films shown in Quebec has risen to the present level of 45 per cent of the total from 29 per cent in 1976.

The existing law has recently produced a notable restriction on the choice of movies available in the province. When the 40-day permit granted for *Rain*, a film of a performance by American comedian Eddie Murphy, expired on Feb. 11, its exhibitor, Famous Players Corp., withdrew it from theatres. Famous Players officials said that the film was impossible to dub at suitable. They added that the company was concerned it might have to withdraw its popular movie *Good Morning Vietnam* when its permit expired because of problems dubbing the fast-paced dialogue of its star comedian Robin Williams. Declared Carole Boudonnat, director of booking for Famous Players in Quebec: "It is not easy to find someone who can speak as fast as Robin Williams in French and still be funny." Faced with that dilemma, Quebec filmmakers may find that the old entertainment adage, the show must not always go on.

—LENA VAN DEREN in Montreal

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Reflections on a crime and punishment

At 26, Bruce Curtis of Mount Helling, N.B., has spent a quarter of a life behind bars in U.S. institutions. He was arrested in July, 1992, and later convicted of attempted manslaughter in the fatal shooting of Rosemary Polgas, the sister of a school friend from New Jersey. His friend, Scott Fross, killed his stepfather at the same time, following violent quarrels during a visit by the two youths to the Polgas home in Loch Arloun, N.J. Curtis maintained that the gun went off accidentally, but after the shooting the teenagers fled the state in a van carrying the bodies, which they dumped in a ravine. Five days later they were arrested in Texas. Fross testified against Curtis in a controversial trial, and the Freehold, N.J., court handed the Canadian a 30-year sentence, which began retroactively from the time he was arrested. Fross pleaded guilty to murder and was sentenced to 30 years. New Jersey authorities rejected appeals and a clemency petition, for several years, but last month they approved Curtis's transfer to a Canadian prison under a U.S.-Canadian prisoner-exchange treaty ratified by the state in 1985, following inter-writing campaigns by support groups and a request by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. Maclean's Ottawa Correspondent Michael Sauter visited New Jersey's Bordentown Youth Correctional Institute last week and spoke to Curtis.

wanted you to stay in jail for a long time because you didn't plea bargain?

Curtis: Yes.

Maclean's: Why were you so anxious to be transferred to prisons in Canada?

Curtis: Well, my family is closer, so they will be able to visit much more often. The parole possibilities are much better.



Curtis remains after a quarter of a life behind bars

Maclean's: What effort do you think members of the Canadian government had on the transfer?

Curtis: They applied quite a bit of pressure. I think I wrote a letter to the governor. And Dan Doonan from [Nova Scotia MP] David Lingwall's office contacted the governor's office practically every day recently. I think their interest developed over a long time. It was brought about by the media attention and the public support they generated.

Maclean's: Are you angry with the way New Jersey authorities treated your case?

Curtis: No, I'm not angry. I'm just sort of puzzled. I see plea bargain, the prosecutor asks for a reduced sentence because you've saved the state a lot of time and money.

Maclean's: Do you think the prosecutors

It might be better to be in the prison in Kingston, and then I could go to Queen's University, because I'm already taking some correspondence courses there. And my sister and my mother and cousin live in Ontario.

Maclean's: Do you think that you are now getting preferential treatment in some way? Are they doing you a favour?

Curtis: I think they look at it that way, but I certainly don't. New Jersey seems to think they're doing some wonderful favour for me, but a lot of other states have transfer treaties, and there's no big deal about them.

Maclean's: Are you concerned that inmates in a Canadian jail will find that you got special treatment?

Curtis: They might, yeah. It's like when

you're in school and people give you kick if you're the teacher's pet.

Maclean's: Now how things stand that the shooting of Rosemary Polgas that summer of your friend's sister was an accident. But were you guilty of anything?

Curtis: I think I made a great many mistakes. Stupidity. Not knowing how to deal with the situation. But one thing I don't perceive as a mistake was not calling the police.

Maclean's: But was it better to try to cover up what happened, hide the bodies and run off with your friend the way you did?

Curtis: Well, I still wouldn't think about calling the New Jersey police in that situation. I just think they are part of the system that doesn't deal properly with problems and human society.

Maclean's: Do you ever think about the woman you shot? How do you feel about what happened that day?

Curtis: I feel very bad. It's something I can't escape from. It will always be in my mind and always bother me.

Maclean's: What do you want to do with the rest of your life, when you are freed from prison in Canada?

Curtis: In the short term I'd like to get a university degree in some area of science. And I would also like to become an activist in certain areas, like the environment or education. You know, this may sound really stupid and people may not believe it, but sometimes I think that all this attention and all the time and money that's been spent on my case could have been used in some other matter. I know I'm important as an individual, but I think there may be more important things that could have been helped or improved.

Maclean's: What has been the effort on your of being in jail for so long?

Curtis: Well, I think it has made me a quieter person. And it has made me better at handling new situations. Here, you have to learn to deal with them or you can't survive.

Maclean's: Has it damaged you?

Curtis: I think it has made me more cynical. Before, I always believed what people told me and I had reason not to believe them. Now, it's more that I don't believe them until I have reason to do so.

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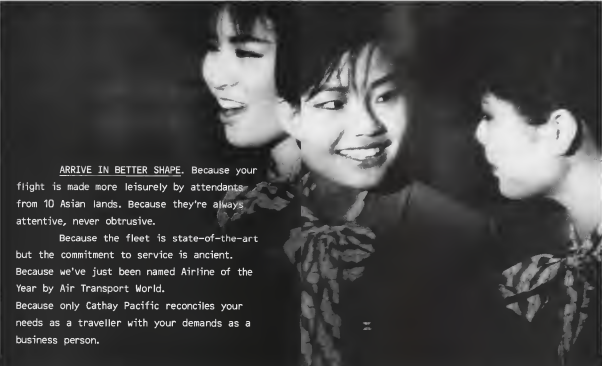
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Revealing Olympic secrets: testing of accomplished after the last-ever Games.

THE WINTER GAMES

When the party ended



The cauldron was lit by thousands of cowboy-hatted athletes and volunteers, weighed down with souvenir pins, jammed Calgary International Airport hours after the closing ceremonies of the XV Olympic Winter Games. They stood in their places after sharing an emotional farewell with a cauldron-wearing crowd of 66,000 in McMahon Stadium. And they left behind a city still reeling in the farewell address by Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, who described the 14-day happening as "the best-ever Winter Olympics."

And as the staff of the Calgary Olympic organizing committee, known as OCO, began dismantling the once-bustling Stampede Park media centre, and the volunteer work crew prepared thousands of brightly colored Olympic banners for sale, there was little evidence of post-Olympic blues. "We are supposed to be having a big depression, but we are not," said Diana Peters, OCO's human resources manager. "There is some natural lull now because, for most of us, this is the highlight of our careers. It may be tough to accept that, from now on, anything we do may seem boring in comparison."

To ease the transition, OCO's 488-member paid staff—about 600 of whom will be laid off March 20—will remain smart on in searching for new jobs and in covering any emotional lull now. OCO president Bill Pratt, 58, says he will not take on another full-time job but has written 200 chief executive officers of international, Canadian and local firms on behalf of his staff. Special workshops on job-search and career-transition counselling are provided free, and OCO has returned financial and psychological consultants. "We don't anticipate much depression coming along," said Peters. "A few people at the Los Angeles Games found it difficult to cope with life after the Games. But that is Hollywood. Our people seem to be coping better. There is a warm feeling of accomplishment around here."

An British ski jumper Eddie (the Es-

g) Edwards) weighed endorsement contracts, Canadian hockey players Marc Habscheid, Randy Giroux and Gord Sheverson, among others, signed National Hockey League deals, figure skater queen Katarina Witt planned over movie offers, and Canadian figure skaters silver medalists Brian Orser and Elizabeth Manley planned their post-career careers. Calgarians secured their own press clippings. Among them, John Hume of the Chicago Tribune wrote, "If anything, Calgary's legacy will be one of a festive spirit in which Western and Iron Curtain athletes hugged and supported each other through triumph and travail." And Bruce Kidd, the 1968 Commonwealth Games gold medalist for Canada in the six-mile run, wrote in the *Calgary Herald*: "The Calgary Games demonstrated that Canadians can make things happen. That is the best legacy of all."

The more tangible result is a well-funded cluster of Olympic-grade facilities. And last week OCO chairman Frank King happily reported a \$50-million surplus on expenses. The figure is based in part on anticipated revenue of \$14 million from the sale of Calgary Games' memorabilia and OCO assets, ranging from flags of the 57 competing nations, to competitors, to unused two volunteers' suits. The money will fund Canadian amateur sports and help defray costs of operating facilities—ranging from the much-acclaimed \$40-million Olympic speed skating oval at the University of Calgary to the controversial \$80-million Canada Olympic Park, the dynamo-verse site of the Olympic ski jump, bobsleigh and luge events.

In addition, the Calgary Olympic Development Association and the Canadian Olympic Association will each receive a \$50-million endowment as their share of OCO's endowment. Total revenues were \$507 million, including \$356 million from TV rights, \$40 million from ticket sales and \$60 million from sales of Olympic rights to sponsors and licensees.

While some Calgarians have ragged out the Olympic Plaza—suddenly silent after 16 nights of medal-ceremony crowds of up to 40,000 people—might serve as a gathering place to celebrate such events as a possible Calgary Flames' victory in the Stanley Cup. Mayor Ralph Klein declared the party over. Opening a Hong Kong Bank of Canada branch in Commissioner's new Good Fortune Plaza last week, Klein said "Life begins after the Olympics, not before. The last 14 days are over." Calgarians' Olympic hangovers, will have to wait until the annual stampede at the ideal time for another party.

—JOHN DOWNE in Calgary



Hitler rides in triumph through Vienna. 50 years later, the Führer's "providential" mission still casts a shadow.

BLACK SUNDAY

WORLD COVER

BY JOHN BIERMAN

"When I crossed the frontier there met me such a stream of love as I have never experienced. Not as tyrants have we come, but as liberators."—Adolf Hitler in a speech following his accession of Austria.

Hitler was not overrating the case. His welcome was tumultuous as he entered his native Austria on March 12, 1938—a few hours behind his panzer divisions—and rode in as *spee Mercedes-Benz* toward Vienna. The invasion, code-named Operation Otto, had been ardently bloodless—and quite unnecessary. The day before the Germans had orchestrated the overthrow of Austrian Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg and his replacement by the local Nazi Arthur Seyss-Inquart. Still, the panzers rolled in, with Hitler in their wake. And all along his route, the populace cheered his entry, women throwing flowers in his path, men holding up their children for a glimpse of the passing Führer. In the picture-postcard city of Linz, where he had

gone to school, Hitler declared with visible emotion, "If Providence once called me forth from this town to be the leader of the Reich, it must in no way have chosen me with a mission, to restore my dear homeland to the German Reich."

Hitler's triumph had its minor setbacks. His arrival in Vienna was delayed until Sunday, March 14, because Gestapo chief Heinrich Himmler needed time to complete his security arrangements—including the arrest of thousands of so-called untrustworthies—and because the Nazi armored columns broke down on the road to the capital, holding up traffic for hours. Hitler was furious over the delay, but the estate workers smoothed his good humor.

Revelry: It was a beautiful spring day, and Prince Benedikt, a 19-year-old Jewish schoolboy, watched fearfully from her window as Hitler drove by. "The outside of my apartment building was being painted, and there was scaffolding all over," he recalled from her home in Pleasant Hill, Calif., last week. "Thousands of people had climbed the scaffolding to get a better view, screaming 'They live!' as Hitler passed. You never saw such glory." The following day Hitler addressed a

vast crowd in the Hofburgplatz, or Heroes' Square. Nazi Minister Franz von Papen, who stood beside Hitler, and later, "I can only describe him as being in a state of ecstasy."

It was in that ecstatic mood that the First Austrian Republic passed out of history to become the eastern province of Hitler's Germany, which it remained until Hitler's "Thousand Year Reich" collapsed in fire and rubble in 1945. By that time the victorious Allies—determined to rehabilitate Austria as a respectable postwar buffer between Eastern and Western Europe—had characterized the country as the Nazis' "first victim." But although there had been a small and gallant resistance movement, some historians and politicians—Austrians among them—deplored that description. Far from being the hapless victims of Nazism, they said, the Austrians were merely its enthusiastic supporters.

Guilt: That perception, long submerged beneath the placid surface of postwar Austria, rose explosively to full view two years ago with revelations that former United Nations secretary general Kurt Waldheim, once sailing directly as president of Austria, had concealed his wartime service as an intelligence officer in the Nazi-occupied Balkans. Waldheim won the election, but the controversy raised up, notwithstanding Austrians with some painful questions. Among them: whether they should feel guilt about their acquiescence in the Anschluss—Hitler's annexation—and whether they should follow the example of West Germany and acknowledge collective or individual guilt for Nazi war crimes.

For Austrians, sharing a common language and culture with the Germans, the first issue is less painful than the second. Apart from the many Austrians who were pro-Nazi at the time, there were others among the 6.5-million population who welcomed the idea of absorption into the much bigger German Reich because, with the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the First World War, they clearly felt weak and vulnerable. Indeed, until Hitler came to power in 1933, even the Social Democrats and Christian Socialists had been in favor of annexation. The five years between Hitler's election and the Anschluss were not enough time for a movement that had been growing for 15 years to die.

As a result, when the Nazis held a referendum the following month to give a stamp of democratic respectability to their takeover, 89.75 percent of the Austrian electorate voted "ja." That meaninglessness was not, of course, a completely accurate reflection of the national will. Many people undoubtedly voted in fear out of fear or apathy. But most historians of the period say that Hitler could have won his referendum by a handsome majority without resorting to intimidation. After all, the spiritual leader of Austria's so-called German Catholic Church, Cardinal Theodor Innitzer, publicly urged a

"yes" vote—although six months later, when Nazi hooligans sacked his palace, he may have regretted it.

Austria's 157,000 Jews were those with real cause for despair (page 38). The American journalist William L. Shirer, author of *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, recalls "What one saw now in Vienna was almost unbelievable. The Viennese, usually so soft and sentimental, were behaving worse than the Germans. Every time you went out you met gangs of Jewish men and women, with staring starry trousers strutting over them and insulting everybody, in their hands and faces scribbles [anti-Semitic] slogans of the sidewalks and curbs. I had never seen quite such horrifying scenes in Berlin or Nuremberg. Or such Nazi sadism."

Amnesia: Whether Austrians should feel a collective guilt for such behavior—and for the deaths of 67,000 Austrian Jews in concentration camps—is a more painful issue than the Anschluss itself. It would never have been brought so much sharper focus in this 50th anniversary year, except for the Waldheim affair, which has forced Austrian intellectuals, historians and journalists—although apparently not the majority of the public—to examine their collective amnesia.

Many critics say that Waldheim's wartime record—followed by his postwar career as a high-level diplomat before becoming secretary general and finally head of state—removes the recent history of his country. In trying to bury the record of his wartime service in the Balkans—claiming first that he was not there at all, then that he was ignorant of the Nazi atrocities that took place, and finally that he only did what was necessary for his personal survival—he has perverted the collective memory of the nation, critics say.

Crimes: Still, says Vienna University psychiatrist Prof. Rainer Ringel, author of the 1987 book *The Healing of the Austrian Soul*, his election was "a blessing in disguise." Ringel says that nations, like individuals, must acknowledge their crimes before they can be cured. "We must finally come to terms with our past and thereby, according to the theories of depth psychology, win back our identity," said Ringel. The respected Austrian human rights activist and author Karl, Prince of Schwarzenberg, agrees. "Nothing destroys the soul of a person, and thus of a whole nation, more than guilt for which one has not paid and for which one does not want to pay," he said.

But Ringel gets it not quite so, he is effective, the purging process must be carried out by the Austrians themselves and not by foreigners. Still, as the cataclysmic events of 50 years ago are re-examined, there is little sign that the process is taking place. A survey published last week in the conservative daily *Die Presse* asked Viennese what topics they were talking about most. Seventy-seven per cent said that they were talking about Waldheim, although there was no indication of whether they were for or against his resignation. More significantly, though, the Anschluss was a topic of conversation for only 17 per cent. Any serious re-examination of Austrian history, it seemed, would be confined to a minority.



Austrian death camp survivors, the end result of the Nazi Anschluss.

AUSTRIA FACES ITS NAZI PAST

Two months ago teachers gave students at 400 schools throughout Austria an unusual class assignment. They told them to go through the attic of their grandparents' homes to see what memorabilia they could find from the 1930s—photographs, documents, newspapers, letters or pamphlets. Their objective was to organize classroom exhibitions reflecting a dark era in the nation's history—the years leading up to and following the Anschluss, the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany 60 years ago this week. The sheer volume of documents and artifacts that the students turned up appears to have surprised their teachers. There were political pamphlets urging Austrians to oppose a takeover by Nazi Germany, but in far greater number were items reflecting how strongly the nation had feared the Anschluss—evils, anti-Semitic literature, so-called Nazi loyalty badges and copies of the anti-Jewish edicts issued after the takeover.

Pastel For the staff and students of Vienna's Kandmann Lane high school, there was special—and poignant—interest in the discovery in one attic of an expedition order against three teachers and 22 students from the school, issued merely because they were Jews. Said Kandmann Lane's principal, Wolf Paschel, who is also a Second World War historian: "Previously, Anschluss was just a word in the history book to my students. But this made it come alive before their eyes."

The Anschluss has also become painfully alive to millions of older Austrians—and not just because of this week's anniversary. In schools, churches and in the Austrian parliament, low-key ceremonies will mark the event, while television will relay the familiar national pictures of Adolf Hitler's jayant entry



Waldheim visiting Israeli military academy: an enthusiastic Nazi or just a good soldier?

into Vienna. But the focus, for the most part, will be on a man who will not even be speaking at any of the ceremonies—Karl Waldheim. As president of Austria, a nation of picturesque towns and resort-filled mountains, Waldheim was to have made a speech at a gathering of parliamentarians to mark the anniversary on Tuesday. But after two years of countering charges about his own wartime role as a Nazi intelligence officer in the occupied Balkans, Waldheim yielded to threats by some members of parliament to boycott the ceremony if he spoke, and agreed to remain silent instead, he is scheduled to speak on state television. And as one civil servant put it, "People will be free to watch him off if they like."

Murder: The Waldheim affair has clearly split the nation of 7.5 million people. On one side are those—of all ages, and mostly on the political right—who say that Waldheim merely did his duty as a German soldier. Who more than one million other Austrians of his generation who were drafted. On the other are those—mainly younger people of the centre and left—who see him as a willing cog in the Nazi murder machine. Waldheim's critics also claim that, in trying over the years about his wartime record, he has brought disgrace on the presidency and embarrassment on the country. Said Freda Menner-Klaus, leader of Austria's conservative Green Party, last week: "He has turned everybody into the Ugly Austrian in the

world's eye, split the country into ideological camps and set the young generation against its elders."

It was the left-wing Vienna weekly *Profil* that, in March, 1986—when Waldheim was campaigning for the presidency—first revealed his service in the Balkans. He went on to win the largely ceremonial post with 588 per cent of the vote. But as a result of the subsequent growing diplomatic isolation of Austria, Waldheim requested a six-member panel of historians to study the charges. Their report last month said that, while there was no evidence that he had committed war crimes, he had been away of them and had facilitated them as a lieutenant in the intelligence branch of Germany's notorious Army Group E. Almost overnight, Austrian public opinion turned against him—the percentage of those saying he should stay in office dropping to 46 per cent from 62 per cent.

In Vienna and Innsbruck, students ripped the president's official portrait down from the walls of high schools and universities. And in the capital, thousands of Viennese demonstrated in the streets, demanding Waldheim's resignation. As one demonstrator, 20-year-old Green Party member Peter Hanauer, put it, "As an Austrian, I do not want such a man at the head of my nation."

The charges against Waldheim have also brought to the surface an old strand of anti-Semitism that many Austrians concede has never really been eradicated. Before the Anschluss 187,000 Jews lived in Austria, nearly all of them in Vienna. Between the Anschluss and the outbreak of war more than 100,000 of them were able to leave the country, but with little more than the clothes they

were wearing. Of those who stayed behind, 62,000 perished in the Holocaust. Despite that, some Austrian academics estimate that as many as one-third of the Austrian people still hold anti-Semitic views. And many among the country's present Jewish population of about 2,000 claim that the Waldheim affair has fanned renewed hostility toward them. Said retired Viennese farmer Max Uri: "Whatever happens now with Waldheim, we Jews will be the blame."

Still, although national polls last week showed that the Waldheim affair was the topic Austrians were talking about most, those same polls showed that few Austrians were discussing the Anschluss itself. Indeed, until the Waldheim affair erupted, Austria appeared to have largely forgotten that period of its history while it kept a comfortably—and respectably—low profile on the world stage. A Gallup poll taken six months ago disclosed that few young

people had any knowledge of the Anschluss period. For 62 per cent of respondents under 30, the anniversary date had no special significance. And 62 per cent said that if they had been alive at the time, they would have approved the annexation or adapted to it. In fact, 61 per cent said that they did not know if their families had been pre-Nazi. Among respondents over 60, 31 per cent admitted they were pre-Nazi at the time, while 54 per cent claimed to have been against the regime.

Prosperous: Modern Austria is far different from the country Hitler annexed in 1938—born as it was by unemployment, poverty and murderous anti-Jewish hatreds, following and rubbing political movements. The Austria of the 1980s clearly takes pride in appearing tidy, prosperous, hardworking, clean and peaceful, almost a carbon copy of neighboring Switzerland, but with a richer cultural heritage.

In fact, Austria is poorer than some of its neighbors to the west. Its GDP per capita in 1986 was \$17,000, compared with \$20,000 for West Germany and \$18,400 for France. And the Roman Catholic Church—to which 85 per cent of Austrians belong—is perhaps more influential in Austria than in any other Western European country except Ireland.

The new Austria—known as the



Anti-Waldheim rally: He has turned everybody into the Ugly Austrian

Second Republic—grew out of the 1955 State Treaty that ended the postwar joint occupation by Britain, the United States, France and the Soviet Union. Historians still debate the reasons that the Soviets pulled out. Many now say that then-Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, in the midst of his celebrated diplomatic thaw in 1955, wanted to make a good-will gesture toward the West and that Moscow did not see Austria as a buffer between the Soviet Union and the West because Hungary and Czechoslovakia already stood in the way.

Achilles: The State Treaty imposed neutrality upon Austria. As a result, although in theory the Austrians enjoy full independence, their sovereignty is limited. The type and range of their movements are strictly limited and, in practice, the Soviet Union also holds a veto over Austrian foreign policy. When, in 1964, Austria tried to join the European Common Market, the Kremlin blocked it. Rather, this year, as Austria again looked toward the East, the Soviet ambassador in Vienna warned that full membership would not be "compatible" with Austria's neutrality.

But Austria's politics are now dominated by the Waldheim affair. In the past two years most Western leaders, including Canada's Brian Mulroney, have indicated that they may not receive the Austrian leader when he visits. Last year the U.S. justice department put Waldheim's name on its so-called watch list of undesirable foreigners, in effect banning him from entering the United States.

As Austria prepares for commemorations of the Anschluss last week, many ordinary Austrians seemed unwilling to talk about the Waldheim affair. But Gerd Schlieker, a 45-year-old brewer, clearly reflected widespread attitudes. "There are thousands of people walking the streets with warts on their consciences. Why would a man for something he may have done 45 years ago? We must drop the curtain as the past somewhere." Others saw no reason for Waldheim to resign as chancellor. "If he had personally killed victims or Jews, I'd be the first to want him to go," declared Maria Ditzler, a 15-year-old at the Kundmann Lane high school. "But considering his past doesn't seem all that awful, does it? However, another guy at the school, who would not give his name, con-

vinced, "He had no business standing for election if he wasn't 100-percent clean." And Homberger, of the Leftist Green Party, said, "They're taught how to lie, and how many other lies has been invented over the years?"

Underlying the gravity of the current controversy is evidence that the Waldheim controversy has awoken Austria's old demon of anti-Semitism.

who are over 60, on the extreme fringes of the Catholic church or on the far right politically. Said Anton Pelinka, an Innsbruck University historian: "We estimate that, when all the masks fall, a third of Austria could be seen as carrying the [anti-Semitic] bug. That may seem a lot. But in view of Austria's complex relations with the Jews, and the fact that anti-Semitism

remained relatively under control up to now. Said Andreas Kroll, a prominent member of the People's Party: "In the days of Austria's First Republic, a crisis of this dimension would have led to civil war. Our political system is showing that it is mature enough to denigrate animal passion."

Show-down: But Austria's uneasy

past can only be dominated with the approval of a two-thirds majority in parliament and endorsement in a national referendum. If the government lost a referendum, it would automatically fall—and the president would begin a new, six-year term of office.

As for Waldheim himself, he insists that he will remain in office.

His critics say that they expect him to step down before the year is out. "His public and political support will drop so dramatically that even three-armed Kurt Waldheim will realize it is time to leave," said Krensky Green Party Leader Metzner-Blass, who ran against Waldheim in 1986, winning six percent of the vote, predicted that



Waldheim (left) Messner-Blass: the controversy has awakened the old demon of anti-Semitism.



Waldheim with wife Elisabeth, coshove student Mock (left) and Wladimir (right) (below) grave of Hitler's parents in a cemetery

ism is mainly handed down from father to son, the thought that two-thirds of Austrians remain unaffected is encouraging."

Austria's postwar policy toward the survivors of the Holocaust has been frequently criticized. Vienna's famed Max-Kahler, senior Wiesner, claims that Austria made it hard for surviving Jews to recover confiscated apartments and businesses—and even forced some of them to pay for the return of their nationality and passport. In compensation for an estimated \$1.5 billion worth of Jewish property seized after 1938, Austria reportedly paid only \$381 million. And arguing that Austria did not exist as a state during the war, the government has refused compensation for personal suffering. In contrast, West Germany paid reparations amounting to \$14 billion. And Austrian officials did not object to its veterans applying for disability pensions.

Still, while the Waldheim affair has propelled Austria into its worst political storm since the Anschluss itself, some people seem to draw comfort from the fact that tempers have

governing coalition of Socialists and conservatives has approached collapse. The Socialists, under personable, 50-year-old Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, have been pressing privately for Waldheim's departure, while the conservatives of Foreign Minister Alois Mock have been defending—although with some wavering—the president's right to stay in office until his term ends in 1992. For now, however, neither side has an interest in forcing a showdown for the simple reason that nobody can predict how a new election would turn out. The conservatives, who was a place in government in November, 1985, after 28 years in opposition, clearly wish to avoid a return to the political wilderness. And Vranitzky's Socialists cannot be certain of returning to power if they call an election.

Uncertainty over the outcome of a snap election has prevented Vranitzky from openly calling on Waldheim to stand down. And the chancellor does not have the power to force Waldheim's resignation. The constitution provides that a pres-

ident can only be dismissed with the approval of a two-thirds majority in parliament and endorsement in a national referendum. If the government lost a referendum, it would automatically fall—and the president would begin a new, six-year term of office.

As for Waldheim himself, he insists that he will remain in office.



ident would step down as soon as he grasped the full extent of the damage he has done to Austria. Said Metzner-Blass: "He can't remain blind to that much longer."

But Waldheim's supporters say that he will hang on in the Hofburg Palace, where the Hapsburgs ruled for 700 years, in the stubborn conviction that the future will eventually subside. Said conservative politician Andreas Kohl: "Waldheim cannot quit, if only because it would be tantamount to admitting it was he who is in a scandal and liar."

Slaves: Some of Waldheim's critics even express sympathy for a man who must now be peeling over him, after 46-odd years of public service, his career is being destroyed because he tried to hide what he did—or failed to do—while fighting on the wrong side in a bad war. As Austrians work through their attic for a glimpse of their long-ignored history, Kurt Waldheim is paying the penalty for the sins of the nation's past.

—PETER LEWIS with DEE MASTERSMAN in Vienna

THE TWO FACES OF WALDHEIM

Each weekday morning, like thousands of other Austrians, he goes to work in Vienna's ancient inner city. Each night he retires to his home in the suburbs and seldom goes out. On weekends he likes to walk on the grounds of his country home on the Lake of Attersee, near Salzburg, or entertain friends in the rambling villa on Vienna's outskirts that is his official residence in the regime of Austria's President Kurt Waldheim, there is little outward evidence of the mounting domestic and international pressure on him to resign.

Attention: The forces surrounding the quiet, 60-year-old Waldheim, in without parallel in modern international affairs. He stands publicly revealed as having led repeatedly about his wartime service in the Wehrmacht. And a commission of historians investigating Waldheim's past reported last month that, although there was no evidence that he committed war crimes himself, he knew about Nazi atrocities in the Balkans, and, indeed, facilitated them. Still, Waldheim scores his critics, defends his record and stubbornly clings to office. Responding to the historians' re-

port, he acknowledged in a televised address that he had known about the atrocities but that "knowledge is not crime." His smile that he "eventually did as more than was necessary to survive the war."

Surviving the present crisis may be more difficult. Even Waldheim's wife, Lieselotte, has come under attack. In a London radio interview earlier this month British Conservative MP Robert Rhodes James said that she had been "a dedicated Nazi." James—a historian who was an aide to Waldheim at the United Nations—added that Lieselotte played a key role in Waldheim's career and "in the covering and the lies that now have been exposed," and that she knew "all about his war record."

Allegations: In fact, Waldheim's wife had something of a war record of her own, according to the Austrian magazine *Profil*. Last year the magazine published an article that recounted an episode one day in September, 1939—after the Nazi invasion of Poland—when Lieselotte's teacher announced to the class in Vienna that the girl would be given a self-interesting certificate because "she has volunteered for important duty in the Reich."

Those certificates, *Profil* said, were granted only to those who volunteered for so-called special services. They included the nursing staff known as "the Brown Sisters," whose tasks involved taking care of Polish children whom the Nazis considered physically suitable for improving their race. The children were taken from their parents and placed in special institutions in Germany to be brought up as Germans.

Profil reported that Lieselotte Waldheim's lawyer refused to say where the 17-year-old had been between September, 1939, and February, 1940, when she returned to Austria. He also said that she relinquished her Nazi party membership in 1943, when she and Waldheim became engaged. Their subsequent marriage produced three children—Lieselotte, 49, Gerhard, 35, and Christa, 29—and three grandchildren. Observers said that Christa, who headed her father's election staff, last met him when he became engaged over fresh allegations about his past. But the campaign had a happy side for her: she met and married Oskar Kraus, the chairman of Austria's Young Conservatives.

According to friends, Lieselotte Waldheim likes to be called "Bibi." But during Waldheim's two terms as US secretary general, from 1976 to 1982, staffers nicknamed her "Lady Waldheim" because of her erect bearing and haughty manner. She appears to have lost neither characteristic after her husband came under attack for concealing his war record, she said publicly that she would regard his resignation as a "betrayal."

Resignation: Critics have also attacked the Waldheim's presidential style. After the president opened last summer's world-renowned Salzburg music festival, the city council had to pay a number of unexpected bills—including one for \$1,200 worth of flowers that the Waldheims had ordered for the roses that the city provided for them. As well, the Waldheims spent an estimated \$100,000 on renovating their official residence. While the Viennese weekly *Der Standard* wrote "Waldheim is the next expensive president in the history of the Second Republic."

He is also one of the most reclusive.



Waldheim riding on his country estate "arbitrary, duplicitous—but also a statesmanlike leader"

He and his wife rarely go out in the evenings and they have limited their public appearances to official functions. One of the few regular visitors to the official residence is former foreign minister Karl Gruber, who herded Waldheim as his secretary in 1946 and is still widely regarded as a close friend and mentor. In a reference to the lag word Waldheim suffered while serving with the German army on the Russian front in 1943, Gruber once said, "I must have heard the story 500 times. I had to tell him to shut up about it."

Wondered: That would play a pivotal part in Waldheim's personal history. Is his 1965 autobiography, prospectively entitled *In the Eye of the Storm: A Memoir*, Waldheim says that when war broke out in 1938, like thousands of other young Austrians, he was drafted into the German army. In 1943 he was wounded on the Russian front and, by his account, discharged and permitted to resume his law studies in 1942 in Vienna, where he married Lieselotte in 1944

and stayed until the end of the war.

But since 1946, documents have surfaced showing that during the years he claimed to have been in Vienna, Waldheim was still in the army and serving in the Balkans. Those documents disclose that he recovered quickly and on March 14, 1942, he was posted to German army command headquarters in Salonika, Greece, with the rank of lieutenant.

Waldheim spent time in Yugoslavia between March and July, 1942, during the massacre of thousands of Serbs and Jews by the Germans and the Ustaše, their Croatian puppets. The Croatians awarded Waldheim the *Iron Cross* Medal with oak leaves on July 22, 1942. Waldheim claimed that he was an interpreter and such medals were reportedly distributed to "low-ranking officers." However, the medal was for "merit under fire," and of the 20,000 German troops in the campaign, only three—including Waldheim—got one.

Waldheim was later based near Salonika, where 40,000 Jews were de-

ported to the Auschwitz extermination camp in 1943. By the end of that year Waldheim was its third-ranking officer in the headquarters intelligence department and, says historian Hagen Fleischer, "was the well-known editor of the *Wehrmacht* in Greece at the end of the occupation in 1944." But Waldheim claimed that he knew nothing about the deportation of Jews.

Resolutions: Disclosures about Waldheim's past continue to emerge. The latest reported only last week the US Central Intelligence Agency wants to release a 1945 British army report naming Waldheim as a wanted German intelligence officer, but claimed so without British permission. They have so far refused, saying that the document is part of an investigation to determine whether Waldheim was involved in the 1944 execution of six captured British commandos.

In many ways, Waldheim is an obscure name. But Sir Brian Urquhart, a former UN undersecretary general who worked for him, clearly knew him well in his 1967 autobiography, *A Life in Peace and War*. Urquhart wrote, "We saw him as two people: Waldheim Mark I, a scheming, ambitious, duplicitous opportunist, ready to do anything for advantage or public acclaim; and Waldheim Mark II, the statesmanlike leader who kept his head while all about him were losing theirs in great international crises."

In many respects, Waldheim is still two men in his critics, an energetic and committed disciple of Nazi Germany, to his dwindling supporters, the victim of a vicious domestic and foreign conspiracy. But, says Urquhart, Waldheim's apparently low-level role in Hitler's army is not the real issue; the reason he should not lead public affairs is that he lied about his past for 43 years.

—BAR COBBLE with BOB WATKINSON in Vienna



Waldheim with wife and daughter: Gertraud would be "a heroine"

THE BITTERSWEET CITY

Crowds of well-dressed people stroll through the cafés and parks. The strains of Strauss waltzes drift through the city from balconies and outdoor band shells. The 19th-century state opera house still rings majestically over the wide boulevard of the Ringstrasse. But a bitter-sweet aroma of a city reliving past glories with few hopes of creating new ones pervades present-day Vienna. At the turn of the century it was one of the world's great intellectual centres and the beating heart of a troubled empire, whose population exceeded 60 million and included present-day Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and parts of Yugoslavia. Now Vienna is the capital of a country of 15 million, still inspiring but a shadow of its former self.

Cluttering: Even in 1900, the empire presided over by Franz Joseph—the second-last of the Hapsburg emperors—was being pulled apart by nationalist movements that would culminate in the empire's dissolution after the First World War. But in Vienna, the symptoms were widely ignored. The glittering city of more than two million provided the backdrop for a flowering of the arts and sciences—a flowering all the more remarkable because, in an atmosphere of endemic anti-Semitism, Jews were in the front ranks of the city's intellectual aristocracy.

For many people, Vienna is inextricably linked to its most famous Jewish intellectual: Sigmund Freud. Born in 1856, the father of psychoanalysis spent most of his working life in Vienna. Freud's modest house, a building that he shared with a butcher, is now a museum. But pre-First World War Vienna also became the home of composer Gustav Mahler, and it nurtured the work of Jewish artists, writers and architects. It also provided opportunities for Jewish scientists, such as Berta

Schick, who, in 1915, developed a test for determining susceptibility to diphtheria.

Wealthy Jews in commerce, industry and the professions frequented the opera and theatre, took paddle-wheel rides on the Danube or went horseback riding in the Prater—one of the city's many parks. Within the upper class, Jews were either widely accepted—or became assimilated. But they still could not attain higher university

education. Growth of the Jewish population in Vienna, from 6,217 in 1867 to 175,518 in 1918, triggered a wave of anti-Semitism. The Jew was the scapegoat for all the failures of the empire. "Violence: Anti-Jewish pamphlets abounded and anti-Semitism formed part of the platform of the Christian Socialist party, led by Karl Lueger, mayor of Vienna from 1897 to 1910. And the city's violent recent history shaped the beliefs of a young aspiring art stu-



Vienna's Graben Square by night: still impressive, but a pale shadow of its former self

dent named Adolf Hitler, who from 1908 to 1933 lived in near-poverty in Vienna.

Vienna is a still proud city of 1.8 million, where the sense of past triumphs is overwhelming. A visitor can clearly imagine Freud in his hansom hat, walking along the boulevards. But another ghost haunts the city: that of a young and bedraggled Hitler, sleeping in garbages and guaranteeing the hatred that 50 years later would result in the deaths of six million Jews. Vienna's legacy is at once impressive—and deeply troubling.

—PETER BOWLER with
SUE HARTSHORN in Vienna

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Ex-refugee Paul Bell says he recalls anguished memories, others refuse to speak

AFTER 50 YEARS, THE FEAR LINGERS

Fifty years later they are still afraid to talk. In the months that followed the German invasion of Austria, thousands of Jews—and several hundred non-Jewish Austrians—fled and sought asylum in Britain, Australia, Canada, America and the United States. Canada accepted only a few hundred. But even though they are now safe, many Austrian refugees keep a low profile, and many still are reluctant to publicly recall their experiences. Most of those contacted by Maclean's talked only on the condition that their names not be used. One, who is not Jewish, requested a signed and witnessed undertaking that his name would not be published. "Maybe I am worried that the wrong people will read my names," said a 76-year-old woman. "Then I would be afraid to answer the telephone or leave my home."

In 1938 Canada had a virtually closed-door policy toward refugees, especially Jews. Saul Tikh University historian Irving Abella, author of *None Is Too Many*, a 1988 book critical of Canadian

immigration policy at the time. "In 1938 Canada was being offered the best deal Europe had to give, but we refused." Some, including Winston Churchill, 65, a retired contractor management consultant, were admitted to Canada only because British authorities—who originally granted them refuge—classified them as so-called enemy aliens. British shipped him and scores of other former Austrian and German nationals to Canada in 1940 and 1941 as civilian internees. Lane was held in camps for 18 months before being officially sponsored by a Canadian citizen and released.

Auschwitz: For most of them, the Anschluss was the Second World War re-run. A nightmare. Paul Bell, a 66-year-old retired chemist now living in North Toronto, recalled how in a curious 15-year-old he left his family's Vienna apartment and went alone to witness Hitler's arrival. "We already knew that the Anschluss would be bad for the Jews," he said, "but to see it was an exciting event, like watching the Olympic Games today." Thousands of cheer-

ing Austrians lined the streets as the motorcade approached. "It is something I will remember all my life," Bell recalled.

When he went to school the next day, Bell said, some of his classmates were wearing Nazi uniforms and would not speak to him. Soon, the Nazis started to arrest Jews by the hundreds and ordered others to perform menial and humiliating tasks, such as scrubbing the sidewalks. Jews, street vendors picked up Bell and forced him to paint the Star of David on Jewish shops. "The only thing to do was get out," he said. He, his mother and his sister were allowed to leave in 1938, joining his father, who had already fled and was staying in a British refugee hostel. In 1941 Bell entered the British army and changed his name to Bell from Bell to disguise his origins, should he be taken prisoner by the Germans. Since 1952, when he and his sister emigrated to Canada, he has only returned once to Vienna—for a week's vacation in 1984.

Woodstock: In Toronto, a woman who today will give her name only as Anne recalls that in 1938, when she was a 20-year-old secretary, the Anschluss was unbearable. "I went to the parade with the cheering Austrians but I saw only bloodshed to me," she said. A few days later, she recalled, the Nazis picked her up along with her father, a deli-maker, and forced them to scrub sidewalks off a fence. "They spit on our heads," she said. After her misdeeds husband was sent to a concentration camp and miraculously released a short time later, he, Anne and her parents left for China in 1938, where they thought they would be safe. They reached Canada after the war.

Gruen: For non-Jewish Austrians known to be active anti-Nazis, the Anschluss could be equally harrowing. One such man, now a successful Toronto businessman, told Maclean's "The people were principled. They jumped as the badge went." Two months after the Germans entered Austria, he said, the Gestapo sent him to the Dachau concentration camp for 16 months because of his outspoken antipathy. "The Austrian people were worse than the Germans there," he said. "They wanted to show their masters they could be more cruel." After his release he made his way to Italy, North Africa and then on to Canada after the war. He has since visited Vienna for business reasons. But, he said, "I just prefer to do business and leave." For him, and for the many refugees who have returned to their homelands, the streets along which Hitler's motorcade paraded 50 years ago will never be the same.

—BRIAN KILGORE

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Old divisions in the new South



It was a stunning moment of reconciliation. Along the banks of the muddy Alabama River, Democratic presidential contender Jesse Jackson took a stand squarely between the iron bars of the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Ala.—the scene of the bloody Sunday protest in March 1965, whose violence galvanized the American civil rights movement. There, Selma's white mayor Joe Smithman had ordered state troopers to attack the mainly black crowd of 600 with dogs and billyclubs, leaving 17 hospitalized and 50 wounded. But last week, 20 years after that march for black voting rights, Smithman, who is still mayor, presented the keys of the city to Jackson—the candidate whom analysts expected to gain the most from this week's 30-state, largely southern primary known as Super Tuesday. Smithman praised Jackson for "articulating the issues better than anyone else." And Jackson waved off any legacy of bitterness he said, "We must have the capacity to forgive each other."

That same—like Jackson's candidacy itself—was vivid testimony to just how far blacks and whites have progressed in the South. But an Atlanta has periodically refocused his campaign away from questions of race—and race economic issues that motivate the white working class and poor as well—many blacks are asking of the old battles for integration how in fact have we. Last week whites in Selma stood away from Jackson's rally. And there, as in the state capital of Montgomery, 80 km west, the two races still live apart, worship in separate churches and educate their children in schools that have become largely black or white.

In fact, a few years ago Lillian Jackson, president of the Metro-Montgomery branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, turned up at a white dentist's office only to be redirected to the side of the build-

ing and a separate black waiting room. As she put it, "We do have some white people here to power who like to prevent the image that we have progressed further than we have. But segregation still exists. It's just become more subtle and more sophisticated."

The economic rebels across the South, which *The Wall Street Journal* last month characterized as "still a house divided." Last week a study by a group of

paper showed disquieting results. The survey of 30,000 schools in nine U.S. cities by *The Atlanta Constitution* found that between 1980 and 1984 the number of schools with 90-per-cent to 100-per-cent minority populations had doubled. The title of the newspaper's seven-part series: "Divided as usual—the resurgence of our public schools."

The newspaper's conclusion was not surprising to Lillian Jackson, a graduate



Poor shelter in Miami, Fla., making of the old battle for integration has in fact been won

counselor at a Montgomery junior high school. Of the school's 500 students, not one is white. And in a city where the population is evenly divided between blacks and whites, 75 per cent of the 35,000 students in Montgomery's public schools are black. Whites, abandoning the integrated town centers for the suburbs and east, now send their children to private schools, such as The Montgomery Academy or exclusive Hurlingham College across from the all-white Montgomery Country and Bessar Club. Said Jackson: "White flight is what we call it. The schools of Montgomery are desegregated, but they're not integrated by any means."

There are other signs of the racial standoff as well in Montgomery, the first capital of the secessionist Confeder-

ation of the old legal separation. Said Bob Westgate, a white former clerk in the Alabama tax department: "Only blacks take the bus. Whites around here drive or take a taxi." Westgate started a navy and red baseball cap emblazoned with the Confederate flag and a motto: "These colors don't run. Never have. Never will." And he acknowledged racism here or "But see, I'm polite," he said "When I meet a black person, I take off my hat." Added Westgate: "There's still some prejudice. When blacks occupy, whites just kinda fade away quietly. They're lowering their actions can make noise, and news makes them look stupid. They still worry about other people thinking they're doing right."

Now middle-class whites have largely

abandoned Montgomery's Grand Avenue—renamed Ross L. Parks Avenue—streets of which are lined with black public-housing projects and crumbling dilapidated bungalows. And across from King's all-black Dexter Avenue Church, the white-owned Alabama Capital last month witnessed another kind of civil rights protest. On Feb. 2 state troopers arrested 16 of the legislature's 24 black members for attempting to send a chain-link fence to tear down the Confederate battle flag that has flown from the dome since then-governor George Wallace's 1963 inaugural speech proclaiming "Segregation forever."

State—which allocates a larger percentage of blacks than whites. At Hart's request, Hartley last year reduced \$5.57 million voted by the legislature to help fund prenatal care for impoverished rural facilities not eligible for Medicaid because they carried slightly more than \$118 a month. Said Lillian Jackson: "He said he did not want the money. And here we have all these babies dying."

Still, not all the racism that persists in subtle. Campaigning for Super Tuesday in Fort Smith, Ark., last month, Democratic candidate Senator Alton S. Carlisle told of his shock as a small boy, when he learned that the iron rings in the cellar

walls of his house in Chattanooga, Tenn., had once been used to chain slaves. Carlisle said the story is there how much the old South had changed. But in the sentence, black community developer Robb Harris-Winton pointed out that since a trail of 34 white supremacists began in Fort Smith on Feb. 16, the Ku Klux Klan had staged 14 public rallies in Arkansas. Harris-Winton said that the Master's administration of President Ronald Reagan for setting the tone with its attacks on affirmative action programs. Said Harris-Winton: "I feel the Reagan administration has caused these people to feel free to speak up."

Blacks clearly recognize a racist undercurrent in the South. In a 64-page report entitled "They Don't All Wear Sheets," Atlanta's Center for Democratic Renewal documented 3,000 of hate-related assaults and cross burnings nationwide between 1980 and 1988—mostly by a new, younger generation of white supremacists. Said the center's research director, Laccard Russell: "What we have on the landscape is not the remnants of the racism we had years ago, but the beginning of a whole new generation of problems."

These trends were also reasons why blacks, who make up only 20 per cent of the South's population, were expected to vote in disproportionately large numbers on Super Tuesday. Said Lillian Jackson: "We know the next president sets the tone for this nation, and a lot of damage or a lot of good can be done."

—MARTIN McDONALD in Montgomery



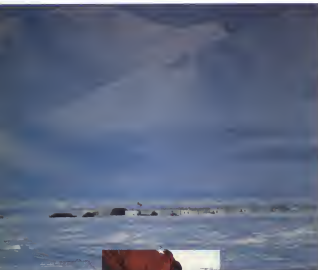
White worker in Atlanta, where the old battle for integration has in fact been won

version of the old legal separation. Said Bob Westgate, a white former clerk in the Alabama tax department: "Only blacks take the bus. Whites around here drive or take a taxi." Westgate started a navy and red baseball cap emblazoned with the Confederate flag and a motto: "These colors don't run. Never have. Never will." And he acknowledged racism here or "But see, I'm polite," he said "When I meet a black person, I take off my hat." Added Westgate: "There's still some prejudice. When blacks occupy, whites just kinda fade away quietly. They're lowering their actions can make noise, and news makes them look stupid. They still worry about other people thinking they're doing right."

The current governor, Guy Hunt—the state's first Republican since 1901—has refused to remove the flag, which black leaders objected to as a symbol of slavery and repression. But some blacks did not support the protest. Said Jeanne Gray, field director of the black Alabama Democratic Conference: "I'm more worried about what's going on under the dome than on top of it." Last year 5,000 marchers protested what one demonstrator called Hunt's "anti-black attitude" and his failure to appoint blacks to government posts. And last month Attorney General Don Siegelman threatened to sue Hunt's Medicaid commissioner, Mike Hardie, charging that Hardie had blocked action to lower Alabama's record infant-mortality rate—the highest in the na-

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A united alliance

For Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, last week offered lessons in both the practice and the theory of modern warfare. On Tuesday Mulroney looked on as Canadian troops in Laub, West Germany, staged a noisy mock battle designed to demonstrate their readiness to defend Western Europe. Then, for the next two days, he

conflicting views on at least one key issue: how quickly the West should modernize aging weapon systems.

Before the summit that debate pitted British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher against Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany. Kohl had maintained that NATO should not rush ahead with the modernization of short-

superpower, the United States, for 175 years. "Concept that with the relationship of the Soviet Union with its neighbors," he said, "before we get too carried away with enthusiasm."

For Mulroney, the trip was a chance to play on the world stage—and make political points back home. In Laub, where 4,800 of Canada's 5,000 troops in Europe are stationed, he issued military overalls and addressed about 1,500 Armed Forces personnel. Admiring his government's commitment to NATO, he reminded them that one na-



Mulroney (far right) with other NATO leaders in Brussels, sending a signal of military strength to Moscow

joined leaders of the other 15 member nations of NATO around a conference table in Brussels. There, the leaders called on the Soviet Union to enter new talks to reduce nuclear weapons. And despite some serious differences among them, they vowed to maintain their strength while seeking negotiations. "This is not a time to change our approach," Mulroney maintained. "On the contrary, we must pursue it with more vigor."

The meeting—the first full NATO summit since 1983—was in large part a public relations exercise carefully orchestrated to show that the Western allies are united. It allowed them to formally endorse the agreement on eliminating medium-range nuclear missiles signed in December by U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. And it gave the Europeans a chance to voice any concerns over further arms reductions before Reagan meets Gorbachev at a summit in Moscow in May or June. But the session also reflected underlying tensions within NATO itself. Although the leaders papered over their differences, in private sessions they voiced

range missiles, which are not covered by the Reagan-Gorbachev agreement. With a range of up to 500 km, those missiles would be used almost exclusively in West and East Germany in the event of war—and upgrading them worries German voters. Thatcher, however, argued that NATO must continually modernize its weapons in order to send a signal of strength to Moscow.

In the end, the two sides avoided an open clash by compromising on the wording of the summit's closing statement. Instead of using the word "modernize," which the British had favored, the declaration spoke of keeping NATO's weaponry "up-to-date where necessary." Thatcher maintained that she had not softened her stand. "I am told that there is no difference between 'modernize' and 'up-to-date' in German," she said. "It is the same word."

Thatcher also warned her Western allies not to be seduced into complacency by Gorbachev's policy of glasnost, or openness, and his emphasis on reducing arms. Mulroney also touched on that theme when he told reporters that he had reminded the other leaders that Canada had lived peacefully beside one

for party has vowed to take Canada out of the alliance. Without naming the foe, which supports that position, Mulroney called it "a dangerous and naive policy." And he declared, "Canada is not a neutral nation."

The leaders' most significant initiative was their call to the Soviets to accept drastic cuts in nuclear forces. NATO planners maintain that the Warsaw Pact's superiority in many kinds of offensive weapons—especially tanks and artillery—is the biggest present danger to stability in Europe. Correcting that would require the Warsaw Pact to scrap far more weapons than NATO—a policy known as "asymmetrical" reductions. The Soviets rejected that principle for years, but in December Gorbachev agreed to do away with 4,502 Soviet medium-range missiles in return for the Americans scrapping only 808. For NATO's leaders, the huge last week seemed to be that the Soviets might be prepared to repeat the principle—and take another historic step toward disarmament.

—ANDREW PHILLIPS in Brussels

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The religious revolt against apartheid

It was a dramatic confrontation between church and state five days after the South African government banned political activity by 37 anti-apartheid organizations. South African religious leaders entered the controversy led by Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu, hundreds of demonstrators marched last Monday on Parliament to petition President P.W. Botha to lift the new curbs and to end a 30-month-old nationwide state of emergency. But police arrested Tutu and about 150 other clerics and supporters and turned water cannons on the demonstrators. After a brief session a clearly angry Tutu said that he and his fellow clergymen—who represent about 13 million black, white and mixed-race Christians—were embarking on a course of civil disobedience. "We are going to be with our people where it hurts," declared the 1984 Nobel Peace laureate. "And if being there causes us consequences like being arrested, then hard luck."

Tutu's decision opened an unprecedented church-state conflict over the future of the country's 25 million disenfranchised blacks. Within 24 hours the government introduced new legislation—aimed at Canada and other donor countries—to prevent domestic opposition groups from receiving foreign funding. The law could also cripple the humanitarian and social programs of groups—such as the South African Council of Churches—that receive international aid.

Justice Minister Hendrik Gortseba said that South's move encouraging black opposition groups to try to overthrow the government. But some observers said that Pretoria's tough new measures were part of an effort to appease extreme right-wing white organizations that demand even limited reforms of apartheid. But in two parliamentary by-elections last week, candidates of the white-supremacist Conservative Party soundly defeated opponents of the ruling National Party.

Many Western governments widely denounced Pretoria's arrest. In the

strongest language used by the Ronald Reagan administration toward South Africa, a statement issued by the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria said, "By criminalizing and suppressing the exercise of both human and political rights, the South African government is shutting off avenues for 'nonviolent change.'" And in Ottawa, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark said that Pretoria's actions were "perverse and brutal." As a

synthesis, police ignored a march by members of a two-thousand group. Several hundred armed and brown-shirted members of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) rode through Pretoria as a harbinger to petition the government for the reinstatement of the four republics, which were dissolved shortly before the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Awe leader Eugene Terre Blanche told his followers



Tutu (center) with other religious leaders, stepping into the breach after a crackdown

signal of the government's displeasure, Ronald MacLean, Canada's ambassador to South Africa who was in Ottawa last week on business, is staying in Canada indefinitely for consultations.

But Clark refused to agree to opposition demands that he sever diplomatic relations with South Africa. "If we were absent from Pretoria," said Clark, "we would have more difficulty mounting an aid program in South Africa-ruled Namibia, more difficulty advancing Canadian and Commonwealth interest in South Africa, and no ability to demonstrate within South Africa itself our solidarity with anti-apartheid leaders." Still, Clark did not rule out the possibility of further sanctions against the Pretoria government.

In South Africa, however, there were new signs of the strength of pro-apartheid sentiment. Two days before the arrest of Tutu and other prominent cler-

gy, he prepared to "rise up and take" what was "rightfully" theirs last Wednesday, under pressure from opposition legislators—and standing from their by-election defeat—Pretoria officials said that they would crack down on the extremist group.

Meanwhile, as the implications of the proposed foreign-funding ban became clear last week, the outlook for South Africa's increasingly politicized clergy looked bleak. But religious leaders seemed determined to continue their opposition. "The government has clearly set itself on a collision course with the church of Christ," said Anglican minister Bill Lockart. "The state president should pay heed to the words of Jesus. 'The gates of hell will never hold out against the church.'"

ANDREW BILLOU with CHEERS EDWARDS in Cape Town

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The Pulp and Paper Industry of Canada



Major Mwenye. The South Africans will take it over my dead body!

ANGOLA

View from the battlefield

Angola's Cuban-backed forces are currently under siege in the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale, in northeastern Angola's *Cunene* province. The remnants of guerrillas of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), supported by South African forces, Mwenye's Correspondent Margaret Kiese visited the town in late February as one of the first foreign journalists allowed to see the battle site. Her report:

Maj Armando Mwenye waved toward a brigade dotted with mud-and-thatch huts. "We brought you here to show you that we still control Cuito Cuanavale," the Angolan officer explained in Portuguese. "The South Africans will take it," he added, "over my dead body." With that, a dozen South Africa G-5 artillery shells screamed out of the low, dark clouds and shattered the valley floor about one kilometre away. "A little gift from the masters," shouted Mwenye, as everyone scrambled to a waiting Soviet-built personnel carrier.

Marxist-led Angola, now backed by an estimated 30,000 Cuban troops, has been battling South Africa and South Africa-supported guerrillas since its independence from Portugal in 1975. But the struggle for desolate Cuito Cuanavale could prove pivotal. If South Africa can capture the town and its vital airstrip, it will have broken the sophisticated Angolan air-defence line—

built with Cuban and Soviet help—that enables the Angolans to control the skies. But if Angolan troops can hold the town—and extend their lines about 180 km southeast to the airfield at Namang— they will control the airstrip and all the way south to South Africa-controlled Namibia. The political stakes are equally high. Government leaders in Angola and Cuba, as well as in nations that oppose them, including the United States, all say that they are eager to resolve the conflict. But each group wants to obtain the strongest possible position in the field before opening peace talks.

Cuito Cuanavale's small size and shabbyness disguise its importance. A single street, of bombed-out shops across surrounded by a traditional African village and miles of scrub, it is lit by as many as 200 shells a day, fired from South Africa's deadly-accurate G-5 and G-6 cannons. Frequent air raids are fought off by the Angolan forces using Soviet-made anti-aircraft missiles.

Officials refused to disclose how many Cuban and Angolan troops were arrayed against what they claim is an 8,000-strong South Africa, Namibian and Cuban army, whose lines began just eight kilometres away. But the Soviet-built defences that fire in so another airbase to the west thinned out a force that gave little hope for imminent peace in Cuito Cuanavale—at least 300 tanks, armored cars and supply trucks streaming into the town.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Inconclusive peace talks

It was an encouraging completion of a frustrating 10-day peace mission. When U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz headed home at week's end, he at least had the support of Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak for a new plan to end hostilities between Arabs and Israel. "These are encouraging proposals and must be very well studied, and we should be very keen to keep the peace process [moving] forward," Mubarak told reporters after meeting with Shultz for 90 minutes on March 4. But the Egyptian president's enthusiasm contrasted with reactions from leaders in Jordan and Syria, and in Israel itself, where the Shultz plan had a generally cool reception. Still, the shuttle mission increased the pressure on Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to end the violence in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, where at least 50 Palestinians have died since Dec. 9.

Meanwhile, Mubarak's obtained the full text of a letter that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has written to Shamir, expressing Canadian concern over the continuing unrest. Calling himself "a concerned friend of Israel," Mulroney wrote on Feb. 24: "I urge you and your government to be forthcoming, imaginative and politically courageous in responding to Secretary Shultz's initiative so that Israel may be clearly seen to be prepared, from a position of strength, to take those risks which are required if peace is to be achieved." Then, last week, the government summoned Israeli Ambassador Israel Guri-Shulit to a 40-minute meeting during which an external affairs official told him of Canada's "deep discontent" over "the continuing abuse of human rights in the occupied territories."

Shulit's peace proposals call for an international meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, next month, then Arab-Israeli talks aimed at agreement on self-rule for Palestinians. But among other things, Shamir has ruled out an international forum, which could open Israel from the territories that it occupies in 1967. Jordan's King Hussein did not comment after his talks with Shultz, and Syria has been generally hostile to U.S. policies in the Middle East. But the margin position would have to change most radically—and quickly—if the Shultz initiative is to have any success.

—BILLY MCKENZIE in Ottawa with
correspondent reports



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Bankrupting a strongman

Just police clanking through budget-cutting demonstrations in Panama City. Authorities closed the University of Panama, and troops loyal to Panamanian strongman Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega seized the last opposition-run radio station. But even as the Panama Defense Force sustained a general strike called last week by the largely middle-class opposition Civil Crusade, the key battleship in Panama's current political struggle shifted from the barracks to the country's banks and foreign courts. With help from the Reagan-Romney administration, Panama's opposition set out to bankrupt the regime of a dictator whose eight months of street protests have failed to topple.

Deposed president Eric Arturo Delvalle took the lead. In hiding somewhere in Panama since his Feb. 26 dismissal by the Noriega-dominated National Assembly, he issued a proclamation last week ordering a freeze on all Panamanian assets abroad—and the Reagan administration promptly moved to support him. The State Department seized five major U.S. banks

to freeze an estimated \$60.8 million in Panamanian government funds. U.S. officials were also considering halting a scheduled \$5 billion payment to Panama by the U.S.-controlled Panama Canal Commission. At the same time, Delvalle instructed his lawyers in the United States—where Noriega has been indicted on drug-related charges—to

As mostly middle-class Panamanians demonstrated against Noriega, the battle shifted from the streets to the banks

prevent Panama from removing vulnerable government-owned assets.

The legal and financial siege strikes Noriega's government at a time when it is very vulnerable. Panama's service-based economy has been sinking ever since regular protests against Noriega's rule erupted last June amid allegations of political assassination and corruption. U.S. military and economic aid to Pana-

ma has been suspended since last summer. Is the country's once-luxurious banking centre, favored by foreign investors seeking tax-free havens, as much as \$4.3 billion has been seized since last July. Overall, deposits in both foreign- and domestic-owned banks have plunged to about \$30 billion from a 1982 peak of \$52.7 billion. And the political turmoil caused a run last week on banks in Panama, forcing them to close their doors.

The external debt outlook is even grimmer. At \$2 billion for a population of just 2.5 million, the country's foreign debt is among the highest per capita in Latin America. Panamanian economists estimate that the country's cash reserves have dropped to about \$25 million from \$275 million in early 1987. Panama is already in arrears on loan payments to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. And the Reagan administration is committed to opposing any new credit to the country from the World Bank or the IMF as long as Noriega remains in power. A growing moratorium on interest payments on foreign loans runs out on March 15, and Panama is due to pay creditors as much as \$185 million by March 31. Said Jorge Crespo, 48, who runs a vegetable store in Panama City: "I think the poorer people here will only turn against [Noriega]



Anti-Noriega protests here: allegations of political assassination, corruption

if the United States starts an economic crisis to get rid of him."

Although Panama's National Assembly has not yet approved a budget for this year, the government, now increasingly run by President Manuel Solís Puelma, continues to add to the deficit. Indeed,

the government faces an \$8.6-million-per-month salary bill for its civil service. Imposing austerity would cut deeply into Noriega's political base among 250,000 government employees.

But even a loan default may provide little relief. Panama has no paper cur-

rency of its own. It uses the U.S. dollar but calls it the balboa. Stringent bank secrecy and freedom from controls on capital movements and exchange have made Panama a haven for Latin American drug money. Each year since 1981, the government-owned Banco Nacional has shipped more than \$2.2 billion in excess cash—most of it in small denominations—aboard to have been smuggled into the country and deposited by drug traffickers—back to the U.S. Federal Reserve for credit. Panama's dependence on the U.S. dollar precludes the option of either printing new money or devaluing the currency. If the current bank crisis continues, a U.S. refusal to provide Panama with the cash its banks need could prove disastrous.

That makes Delvalle's assault on Noriega unavailing. Once derided as a Noriega lackey by opponents and quickly dismissed by Noriega loyalists when he broke with the general, Delvalle may yet provide some justice efforts into a coup. "With the impending economic collapse," he said just before going into hiding, "there will be no more money. When the soldiers are hungry, they will tell Noriega he must go."

—LENNY GUNN with CHRIS HIGGINS in Panama City

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Snowdown in Montreal

The battlefront in Montreal. At stake are world-class technology, national prestige and a multibillion-dollar business. Next week, city of Montreal, spearheaded by a group of aggressive Quebec executives in 1986, plans to turn that city's telephone system into a gigantic computer grid, which will allow its clients to communicate directly with one another and with hundreds of computer systems. Just before CMT's system is scheduled to go into operation, Bell Canada officials say that they will unveil the technology that it hopes will stop CMT's advance. Bell will use Canadian hardware based on Canada's internationally acclaimed Telidon technology, while CMT will deploy Minitel—a highly successful French-built system. René Janssen Carruthers, president of Norepik Corp., the Kanata, Ont.-based firm that designed Bell's hardware "If they can bring the French system into Canada, it will kill us internationally."

The struggle in Montreal is between two global communications standards—the North American NARS system, which was developed from Canada's Telidon system, and Minitel, which operates under the French Teletel standard. Carruthers said that Norepik and its corporate allies, including Bell, have been backing their own against France's Minitel for the small, yet potentially huge, videotex market. But he said that the French are now going for the big prize by attempting to establish a Minitel stronghold in Montreal. If the French succeed, he said, they will displace NARS operators of a national home base responsibility that Minitel now enjoys. They would, said Carruthers, be able to go abroad and claim that their Canadian competitors could not even sell their system in their own backyard. Said Carruthers: "Whatever standard is established will be theirs."

The two competing videotex systems were conceived and developed independently in the 1970s by scientists in France and Canada. The systems use existing telephone grids and small, non-

prior terminals to create a vast communications web. Individuals can send and receive messages and call up hundreds of services from a wide variety of data banks. They can also do complicated banking and stock market transactions on the system. Ottawa ultimately spent \$67 million developing Telidon videotex

Every of their first ALIX terminals next month and will launch a massive advertising campaign to introduce the service this spring. CMT is now taking delivery of 1,000 Minitel a month and is close to launching its service.

Although the ALIX terminals are arriving, CMT president Gérard Sa-



Snowdown with a Minitel terminal building a stronghold for French technology in Canada.

technology before heading the system off to the private sector, primarily Norepik, for further development.

Now Bell is proposing to use Telidon technology in its Montreal videotex system. Bell executives estimate that the service will quickly grow to have 30,000 subscribers, about 16,000 of whom will rest content. Norepik-designed ALIX terminals—named after Alexander Graham Bell—while another 4,000 customers are expected to adapt their own personal computers to the system.

Both the ALIX and Minitel terminals are about the size of a small television set and are almost as simple to operate. They can be carried around like a telephone from room to room, and operate from the nearest electrical outlet and telephone jack. Bell officials say that they expect to take de-

velopers said that Minitel has been a spectacular success, with close to one million in France. The French state-owned telephone company was only financed development of the system in the late 1970s, but gave away these million terminals to get the system into operation. As well, the company forced its clients to adapt to Minitel by refusing to issue standard telephone books. That compelled customers to use, instead, the electronic directory in their Minitel computers. And as they did so, they quickly learned to use many of the 3,500 services offered on the system as well.

Norepik and its allies, which include not only such large firms as Bell, but scores of smaller software manufacturers that produce Norepik-compatible products, are now locked in a struggle

for supremacy with Minitel. Norepik has scored some major victories. Chase Manhattan Bank rents out NARS standard computer terminals, with parts built under license from Norepik. And the Chicago Board of Trade is equipping 600 traders with terminals using Norepik's teletext technology to provide up-to-the-minute information on stocks and commodity prices.

ALIX's main advantage is its basic use with Minitel are its graphics capabilities and efficiency. Although the Minitel system transmits text, with some crude graphics capabilities, the Canadian system has a graphics option, which Carruthers says makes it infinitely more useful. Said Carruthers: "Not everybody can read a financial statement, but anyone can look at a chart and understand it instantly. The Canadian technology is the best in the world."

Bell Canada initially considered using the Minitel system. But Alan Walters, Bell's vice-president of marketing and development, said that Bell decided against it because the firms supplying technology for NARS-based systems are dominant in North America. As a result, he said that



Carruthers in Norepik's laboratory: a threat from abroad.

Bell was not convinced that Minitel could survive over the long term in that environment.

CMT executives seem to be moving

at a faster pace than Bell. The firm is already taking delivery of 1,000 Minitel terminals a month, while the only ALIX terminal Bell has on display is a wooden model in Montreal. An official plan to open a Toronto office this summer in preparation for its assault on Canada's largest metropolitan area. Indeed, CMT's projections are far more ambitious than Bell's. CMT chairman Roger Charland said that the firm hopes to have 64,000 terminals installed in Quebec by the end of 1988, while Bell is forecasting just 30,000 during the same period. Said Charland: "All we had to do with the existing Minitel unit was make some very minor modifications. The amount we paid was totally insignificant."

But no matter which firm wins, Carruthers said that he is convinced videotex, like the telephone before it, will change how people work, shop, educate themselves and, at root, how they communicate. And the outcome of the Montreal battle will determine which technology they do it with.

—TIM FENNEL with MARK CLARK in Ottawa and GREGORY PERDUE in Montreal

Sex and the single phone

The three scantily clad women in blue polka-dots with their coquettish winks and shimmering skirts striking suggestive poses on posters scattered all over Paris, Bonn, Bonn, and Amsterdam claim to offer the sort of fulfillment for the sexually starved usually found in a brutal fist. In fact, for about 30 cents a minute, Minitel clients can contact Emma and her colleagues through their Minitel computer terminals to learn about their services and arrange meetings with them. That service has helped make the Minitel system wildly popular in France and a gold mine for the Poste-Telegraph-Telecommunications (PTT). It is now estimated that state-owned telephone utility that operates Minitel services.

Indeed, Minitel became so almost instant hit with telephone subscribers in France when it was introduced four years ago. Since then it

has reshaped how entertainment, communications and, to some extent, public attitudes and behavior. Launched as an electronic alternative and companion to the telephone, Minitel now offers about 3,500 services, which are available 24 hours a day on Minitel terminals. Subscribers can monitor the news and weather, plug into personal bank accounts and stock portfolios, order groceries, and check local airplane and train schedules.

PTT began distributing the compact Minitel terminals to subscribers in 1984. Consumers can hook up the \$200 terminals—provided to them free of charge—to their telephones and pay the utility a fee of \$1.50 an hour. More than 3.5 million homes use the terminals, and the number is increasing at the rate of 300,000 a month.

Last year Minitel subscribers made

a total of 534 million calls—at an average of 80 minutes a month compared to the 65-minute monthly average in 1986. As a result, the growing popularity of Minitel produced close to \$500 million in revenues for PTT. While the soft-phone network accounted for 30 per cent of revenues last year, the utility has planned to increase 300 new services by the end of the year. At the same time, French officials say that they hope they can extend Minitel's success into other countries. Britain, Germany and Switzerland are among several nations currently testing the terminals, and a Montreal firm is at the verge of launching Minitel in that city.



And if Minitel takes hold there, some analysts believe it will spread rapidly across North America.

—THERESA TEDESCHI with BRIGID DANFORTH in Paris



Mexican border at El Paso: traffic snails as thousands of U.S. executives head to work south of the Rio Grande

The Mexican border attraction

They are known as maquiladoras (assembly plants). They are located primarily in Mexican cities as the U.S. border, and they are producing everything from auto parts to surgical gloves and television sets. According to the best estimates available, close to 1,300 maquilas now employ 320,000 workers. Currently, there are only four Canadian companies among the dozens of Japanese and hundreds of American firms operating in Mexico because they can pay their workers as little as \$4.50 per day. But there are signs of growing Canadian interest in establishing maquila operations. Last week in Montreal, about 100 businessmen attended a privately sponsored conference that included a seminar on maquilas. Recently, a Toronto lawyer formed a company to help Canadian firms establish operations in Mexico and officials of a leading Canadian manufacturer of mobile detectors say that they are seriously considering moving some of their assembly operations to Mexico.

Mexico's industrialization plan announced in 1985 is similar to the programs set up in about 190 other developing countries. Its primary purpose

is to help create jobs and generate foreign exchange. In most cases, a manufacturer is allowed to ship raw material, parts or component into a developing country duty-free, as long as the finished product is exported. Mexico's program has been very successful; that most, mainly because of the country's proximity to the huge U.S. market. With the steady collapse in the value of the Mexican peso since 1985, the number of new maquilas has skyrocketed. And Mexican trade officials predict that one million people may work in maquilas by the turn of the century.

But American labor leaders are beginning to apply intense political pressure in Washington to stop the creation of jobs in Mexico by U.S. firms. And other critics contend that the foreign employment are paying their Mexican workers wages that are well below subsistence levels. University of Texas economist Jeffrey Branson told Montreal that a worker on a maquila assembly line does not earn enough to support a family.

One Canadian auto-parts producer refused to disclose details of his maquila. James Pick, chairman of Tillsonburg, Ont.-based Pick Manufacturing Inc.

and a University of Toronto professor of management, would only say that his company acquired its Mexican operation when it bought a firm based in Massachusetts more than two years ago. Other Canadian companies that own maquilas include Ontario-based computer hardware manufacturer Metal Corp., Montreal-based sewing machine manufacturer Ideal Equipment Co. Ltd. and Canton Trust Ltd., an auto-parts company from Kitchener, Ont. Sud's trade official with the Canadian Embassy in Mexico City. "It gets a little tricky. If they are unseasoned [in Canada], they get nervous about media exposure."

Although initially reluctant to discuss his plant, smoke-detector manufacturer Steven Chepa said that international competitive pressures have forced his company to consider setting up a Mexican plant. Chepa is president of Toronto-based Dwan Systems Ltd., which also makes home-security devices. He said that up to 70 per cent of Dwan's output is exported. Canada does not impose tariffs on imported smoke detectors, but Chepa says duties to enter its major markets—the United States, Britain and the Scandinavian countries.

Chepa said that his company is now

considering opening a plant in Juarez, a Mexican city of 445,000 across the Rio Grande from El Paso, Tex. Sud Chepa: "You can only achieve so much through ingenuity and automation. You get to a point where the labor cost difference is so large, you simply cannot overcome it."

Although Canadian manufacturers have not established operations in Mexico at the same pace as their American or Japanese competitors, interest is growing rapidly. Mark Petro,

consulting engineer as an engineer with a fluent in Spanish. Blaser said that they have sent out 1,500 promotional letters to Canadian companies and 350 maquilas. However, he conceded that a maquila operation is less attractive to Canadian manufacturers than to their American counterparts. U.S. duties on products from the maquilas apply only to the difference between the price paid by U.S. buyers and the cost of the raw materials imported by the Mexican plants. Canada imposes a



Making purses for Fisher Price in Monterrey: some workers survive on subsistence wages

president of Lexington, Ont.-based International Business Consultants of Canada Inc., told Montreal's General that the U.S. auto-makers, General Motors Corp., Ford Motor Co. and Chrysler Corp., are actively seeking for Canadian parts manufacturers to supply their assembly plants in Mexico. Indeed, Petro, a former manager of a Canadian-owned maquila who addressed the seminar on Mexico manufacturing in Montreal last week, said that he expects another two Canadian companies to establish operations this year. And Frank Richland, executive vice-president of the McGill Economic Development Corp., a municipally funded industrial promotion organization in Montreal, says that he has received dozens of inquiries from companies in Calgary, Montreal and several parts of Ontario.

The growing awareness of Mexico's advantages among Canadian manufacturers led Toronto trade lawyer Fred Blaser to form a company last November called Mini-Canada Commercial Corp. The company is a partner venture for Blaser, who remains employed at the firm of Cassels, Brock and Blackwell. His partners include a banker with expertise in trade

deals on the entire product, including the cost of materials. Despite these drawbacks, Blaser said that he is already negotiating with Canadian firms that want to set up maquilas. The maquiladora, a word derived from a Spanish term used in colonial times to describe the fee extracted by

daily on the entire product, including the cost of materials. Despite these drawbacks, Blaser said that he is already negotiating with Canadian firms that want to set up maquilas. The maquiladora, a word derived from a Spanish term used in colonial times to describe the fee extracted by

The clustering of maquila has occurred as a direct result of government policy, according to Richard Rubin, a former management consultant who advised Mexican officials on how to set up the ma-

quila Rubin, now director of a Flawless, Arco-based organization that conducts research on world trade patterns, said that Mexico developed industrial parks in order to provide good roads, sewers and electricity within small areas and to focus its promotion of the maquila. Rubin added that the maquilas were located along the border in order to encourage a two-plant concept. Indeed, many American companies have put assembly plants on the Mexican side, but

kept their administration and distribution centres on the U.S. side. The maquilas have created jobs in such American cities as San Diego, Calif., El Paso, McAllen and Brownsville, Tex. As a result, said Rubin, politicians from these American cities will defend the maquilas against union pressure to close them.

In fact, the municipal economic-development authorities in the American border towns have become the most enthusiastic promoters of the maquila. They now compete aggressively to bring plants to the Mexican communities on the opposite side of the border.

But not everyone shares that enthusiasm for the maquila. University of Texas economist Branson, who is also director of the center for Latin-American Studies and said that about 80 per cent of the maquila assembly workers earn less than \$4.25 per day, although some receive food and transportation subsidies. Branson added that most of the assembly workers are women with only a few years' education who receive a maximum three-day training.

He conceded that Mexico is developing a small group of engineers, technical workers and management officials in the maquila. But beyond those employees, there is little or no transfer of skills to the American companies or the Mexican workers. Said Branson: "They are better off in the sense that, in most cases, there are no unions. As a result, as long as Mexico's economy continues to falter, the maquilas will flourish."

Blaser: heading south



Blaser: heading south with international reports

'Why do we need the government?'

By Peter C. Newman

It's a paradox that the Canadian Oil Patch's strongest financial turnaround has been achieved by privately owned Petro-Canada, which is about to report its most profitable year ever. Preliminary reports show a 40-per-cent jump (to \$170 million) in net earnings for 1982 over the previous year's \$123 million.

Those attractive financial results, due to be tabled in Parliament within the next few weeks, will reopen the debate on the state-owned company's eventual privatization. When Joe Clark was in power, denationalizing Petro-Canada (established by the Liberals with royal fiat in 1976) was one of the "fame" top priorities. His government fell before Clark took any action, but he still regards Petro-Canada and its staff with suspicion and distrust. In contrast, the Mulroney administration has not only supported Bill Hopper to another three-year term as chairman, but also has encouraged the state-owned oil giant to grow by helping set the stage for Petro-Canada's acquisition of the 2,000 Gp service stations sold by the Imbeciles in 1980. Hopper said no recently "It's a paid downsides, where there is essentially no national interest, was something no one thought the Conservatives would do. I knew that some western Tories were afraid, but it strengthened us in the West—plus being a very good asset buy."

More recently Ottawa has been sending out mixed signals on Petro-Canada, with Energy Minister Marcel Masse pledging to restore free enterprise in the industry by spinning off Petro-Canada off to help launch energy megaprojects. Said Masse "We have given Petro-Canada a mandate to be like Esso, Shell or Texaco, so, for the time being, it's like a private company. The difference is that the shares are owned by the ministry of energy."

Deputy Prime Minister Donald Macdonald later repudiated Masse, but there is no question where Hopper stands on divestment. He asked: "If we're going to act commercially, why do we need the government? If I own a well, we can operate on a bottom line, they might as well sell the shares. If the Tories are re-elected, I'm convinced they'll privatize the company, and I hope they do it sooner than later. There may be some Canadian nationalists opposed to the idea, but I think

most Canadians would like to buy a share in their national oil company—and it won't change our status as the largest Canadian-owned integrated energy firm."

Hopper has been in Ottawa several times recently, urging the politicians to set him free, using the argument that his company will avoid huge jobs of such to finance future projects at a time when budgetary deficits are threatening the fed's ability to make



Hopper, western Tories with apathy

any further payouts. "We can only borrow so much," said Hopper, "and, as chairman of this board, I will not borrow to the point that we become a basket case. I will sell off our interests before I do that—and that would be a tragedy. So I keep saying to the government, 'Fine, if you won't fund us and allow this company to grow normally, let us go to the equity market.'"

What Hopper wants is a smooth, Maggie Thatcher-style privatization,

although he does not expect the government will sell more than 50 per cent of its holdings. The problem will be that, to explore its reserves, Petro-Canada will require billions of dollars. Its 10-year exploration program off the east coast is being evaluated, but some elephant-size fields will emerge. "Hibernia," said Hopper, "is a very doable project, though we may have to accept higher oil prices. The Terra Nova field, just south of that, we feel particularly bullish about." Petro-Canada is also heavily involved in the expansion of the Suncor plant at Fort McMurray and a new oil sands mining project in northern Alberta. As well as domestic projects, Hopper has led his company into offshore exploration ventures in Colombia, Ecuador, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea.

Originally established to give the government a window in what was then an almost entirely foreign-owned industry, Petro-Canada rounded deep initial investment because Calgary's corporate free-enterprises charged that the state-owned operation was receiving preferential treatment. That may have been true, but most of the resentment has evaporated. This month, for example, Hopper will be elected president of the Canadian Petroleum Association, a body that speaks for most of the industry. Said Hopper: "If people would have thought of that 10 years ago or seven years ago, they would have said 'Never.'"

One recent event that changed the public perception of Petro-Canada was its sponsorship of the cross-country run of the Olympic torch. "It taught our employees to get out a lot more and showed people how much we are to be Canadians," said Hopper. (A book on the run, *Share the Flame*, was published last week. It took its publisher, Whitman Books of Vancouver, only six days after the torch arrived in Vancouver to put the volume to bed and start printing and shipping 175,000 copies.)

"It's been a great experience for us," Hopper added, "though I don't know what it does for our market share of gasoline products, if anything. But that wasn't the driving force behind it. We just wanted to promote the cross-Canada idea." Then Hopper had another thought: "Of course, we did get an awful lot of free time on the news broadcasts, each time showing the Petrocan logo." That's the kind of public-sector thinking that could move from Petro-Canada into a private-sector superstar.



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JUSTICE

Mystery in a small town

A mysterious attack on a teenager has outraged many U.S. blacks and focused unwelcome attention on Wappingers Falls, a small town 88 km north of New York City. Last Nov. 28, four days after the girl disappeared near her new home, a former neighbor saw Tawana Browley, then 15, curled up behind an apartment building that her family had recently vacated. Police officers who responded to a call for assistance reported that they found the high-school student lying senseless in an open plastic garbage bag. They also discovered that someone had chopped off some of her hair, smeared her head with excrement and used a pen or charcoal to scrawl racist slurs on her chest. Last week a state grand jury assembled in nearby Poughkeepsie, N.Y., to hear evidence in the still-unsettled case. But lawyers representing Browley charged that the authorities had mishandled the investigation—and they refused to let her testify about the attack until police had made arrests in the case.

Certainly, the vague and disputed account of the incident that Browley has given—largely through details relayed by her relatives—but failed racial tensions in the quiet town of 5,000. According to Browley, two white men—one of them displaying a police insignia—snapped their car, kidnapped her and knocked her unconscious around 8 p.m. on Nov. 28, as she walked along a highway less than two kilometres from her home. And after that explosive allegation, her lawyers, C. Warren Mason and Alton Maulder Jr., promptly enlisted state officials in an angry debate over the effectiveness of the state justice system. For one thing, they expressed outrage that local police had at first suspected 44-year-old Ralph King, Browley's stepfather and an ex-convict who had spent seven years in prison for the manslaughter shooting of his first wife. And without offering proof of their charges, the lawyers also said that the authorities had orchestrated a massive covering up (several local officials' involvement in the attack).

In an attempt to verify or disprove that allegation, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo has ordered the grand jury to examine both the alleged crime and the police investigation of the Browley case. He also appointed state Attorney



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PASSPORT
INTERNATIONAL AUTOMOBILES

General Robert Abrams to act as a special prosecutor in the case. Declared Gosses: "As far as I am concerned, Savana Brawley is my daughter—she is everybody's daughter. We will do everything we can to get at the truth."

To that end, FBI agents are also working on the case, but those measures—and the paying of a \$50,000 reward by publisher Bill Cosby and Edward Lewis, the publisher of the New York City-based magazine *American*—have failed to produce a breakthrough. Now, more than three months after they discovered the frightened teenager on the grassy courtyard of the Parkland Condominiums, police have still to make any arrests in the case.

Investigators say that they are in the difficult position of proving that the attack occurred without any help from Brawley—the only person other than her assistants who appears to know what actually happened. They realized that Brawley had remained silent as medical personnel in a nearby hospital examined her for injuries. Still, she did manage to survive the words "white out" on a piece of paper when a black police officer asked the former cheerleader who had attacked her. And in the week following the incident, family members passed along information, which indicated that Brawley had been dragged into some woods where at least six men spent the next four days taking turns raping and sodomizing her as she passed in and out of consciousness. State investigators say that the medical examination revealed no signs that someone had raped or sexually abused Brawley—and they add that they have not been able to discover any evidence of exposure, malnutrition or serious injury that would support her account.

These second-hand accounts provide little information on the events that supposedly followed the initial attack in the woods. According to her relatives, her captors repeatedly struck Brawley on the back, drugging her and making it difficult for her to remember details of her four-day ordeal. As a result, they said that she could not tell investigators who had not her last, scrawled the racial epithets on her body or surrounded her with a substance that medical personnel who examined her later said was likely dog feces. And Brawley could only describe one of her assistants—a blond man in a dark jacket who reportedly told her that he was a police officer. New Abrams and the state's jury will see the difficult task of determining to angry U.S. blacks that justice has been done—without the critical assistance of the key witness in the case.

—LENNY GLADY in New York City

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Hei Ling Chau camp, refugees (below) jostle conditions and plywood sleeping cots are stacked like shoe boxes

IMMIGRATION

In search of a life outside the wire

For Hong Kong authorities, granting asylum to Vietnamese refugees has proved to be an expensive—and unrelieved—burden. More than 115,000 Vietnamese have found at least a temporary home in Hong Kong since the collapse of South Vietnam in 1975, and the tiny British colony still harbors the largest concentration of Vietnamese boat people in Southeast Asia. And at a staggering maintenance cost of \$5 million each year, almost 30,000 refugees still remain in overcrowded camps in the hope of gaining permanent residence in such countries as Canada. In Ottawa last week, federal external affairs officials noted that Canada has the largest resettlement program in Hong Kong—and that it accepted almost 779 Vietnamese refugees last year. Indeed, Canada has taken in almost 30,000 Vietnamese boat people from these camps. But other countries are less hospitable. The United States, for one, selected only 328 Vietnamese from Hong Kong last year, a sharp reduction from the 1,325 refugees it accepted in 1984.

Each month Hong Kong officials allow entry to almost 200 Vietnamese, who reach the colony after a per-

ilious 1,000-mile sea journey from their resented homeland. But in an effort to stretch the odds across the South China Sea, colonial officials adopted what they call a "business detour" policy since July 1982: they have confined Vietnamese refugees to five internment camps ringed by chain-link fences. As well, members of the Hong Kong Ecclesiastical Service, who supervise these so-called closed camps routinely open letters that the residents send to friends and relatives in Vietnam. Then the officials insert a pamphlet that warns those potential refugees about the camp's jail-like conditions.

The effects of that policy are apparent in Hei Ling Chau camp, an internment centre which is located about one hour's boat ride from Hong Kong as a

island that once served as a leper colony. There, most of the 2,800 Vietnamese refugees live in crowded idleness. Many spend their days strolling

around the camp's narrow courtyards until it is time to line up for meals consisting of such items as rice or bread and pieces of chicken or fish. Others pass the time doing laundry and other daily tasks or simply loafing around their crowded living quarters. They consist of eight dormitories containing plywood sleeping cots that are two metres long and one metre wide and are stacked like shoe boxes, three and four units high, to the eeling of the single-story buildings. Only about 150 camp residents have paid jobs that pay pennies for the piecework assembly of toys, articles of clothing and other items for Hong Kong merchants.

Some refugees have spent more than five years behind the 12-foot-high fences rampaging the camps while waiting for resettlement. Li Tho, a 20-year-old fisherman from the port of Haiphong in northern Vietnam, is one of them. Accompanied by his wife, Nguyen Minh, and their three children, Li escaped from Vietnam in 1980 and reached Hong Kong after a 10-day sea voyage on a small boat filled with 25 refugees. Declared Li, "All I wish is that I can work for my family and give them a better life than in Vietnam. I do not want my children to have all their lives." But Li's year-old son is one of the more than 5,000 children who have been born in the internment camps during the past five years. And although school-age children study such subjects as Vietnamese and English in preparation for a life outside the wire, the slow pace of resettlement means that many of them will be unwilling guests of the Hong Kong authorities for years to come.

—MARGARET GRAY
with BEN BRANTON
in Hong Kong and
MICHAEL CROOKER
in Ottawa



Members of three families at Hei Ling Chau camp (above), crowded dormitories. Doing laundry (below): 'I do not want my children to be here all their lives'



Although **Emmanuelle Bélinguer**, the granddaughter of French classical actor **Louis Bélinguer**, grew up in the theatre world, she says that she was reluctant to become an actress. But that changed in 1985 when Bélinguer, who had modelled since she was 15, appeared in *Detective*, a movie directed by Jean-Luc Godard, and met Polish-born director **Roman Polanski**. Said Bélinguer, 31, who now lives with Polanski in Paris: "I had no ambition. Roman gave me a direction in life." Bélinguer adds that Polanski pushed her to finish high school and leave England, and her efforts have paid off in the new Polanski thriller, *Frantic*. Bélinguer plays a Paris free spirit who comes to the aid of an American tourist, played by **Harrison Ford**. Said Bélinguer: "The role was written for me, but Roman made me into very high."

Top American fashion designer Oscar de la Renta made a rare visit to Canada last week and, to the delight of his Toronto fans, he brought along his 1988 spring and summer collections. It was all for a good cause: the \$400-a-ticket gala raised \$100,000 for the Genesis Foundation, which does research into women's reproductive health care. Before the show, 550 guests, including actor **de Winton** and wife **Sara**, along with Senator **Jerry Gratstein** and his wife, **Carole**, dined on variations of veal in pepper sauce with spinach and carrot. As for his participation, de la Renta, 55, whose de-

Bélinguer: 'a well-rounded person'



Bélinguer living with—and starring for—the director

signs out from \$1,000 to \$10,000, said, "I love women, and of all the causes I could have supported, this was the right one for me."

Actress **Manalish Bélinguer** is set to follow in the footsteps of **Benita Siskin** and **Josée Fontaine**, who carved out successful movie careers as teenagers before attending university. Since the Los Angeles-born Bélinguer achieved stardom at 14 after playing a queen runaway in the award-winning 1964 movie *The Journey of Natty Fawn*, she has juggled acting jobs and high-school homework. Her latest role is as the title character's girlfriend in the just-released movie *A Night in the Life of Jimmy Brandon*. And now Bélinguer, 17, says that she is trying to decide whether to attend Stanford, Princeton or Yale universities next September, or New York University's film school. "Education," says Bélinguer, "makes for a well-rounded person."

The big winner at last week's 30th annual Grammy Awards was the Irish rock band **U2**, but two stars who went home empty-handed, **Michael Jackson** and rock 'n' roll veteran **Little Richard**, stole the telecast show Jack-

son's album. **Rod**, who nominated for several awards but won only for its engineering. Still, the exclusive singer gave a riveting performance, his first on live television in five years. Jackson, 29, backed by a gospel choir, brought down the house with his trademark moonwalk dancing and the song *Man in the Mirror*. And before presenting the award for best new artist to singer **Jody Watley**, Little Richard, 55, declared, "I have never received anything and I've been singing for years—I am the architect of rock 'n' roll." He got a standing ovation.

Since **Robert Louis Stevenson** wrote *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* in 1886, split personalities have been a mainstay of horror fiction. And now there is a Canadian thriller writer with a split personality of sorts: **Michael Blake**, whose second novel, *Ghost*, has just been published, is really the pen name for three people. Vancouver criminal law partners **Jay Clarke** and **John**

Banks, both 40, and Clarke's wife, **Lee**, 38, an executive secretary. Blake's career is paramount for Clarke, who has cut his law hours in favor of time at the typewriter. The self-described horror buff credits his wife for ideas on character development and Banks with literary expertise. Said Clarke: "Writing is a lonely profession. This way, the camaraderie is great, and we collaborate together when the ideas come."

Having television down is old hat for **Concordia actor Shawn Thompson**. He hosted two CBC series, *Switchback*, during the 1980-1986 TV season, and *Be Good!* A week the following year, and last August he earned rave reviews for a week of guest-hosting *The Late Show on the American* Fox network after its star,

John Ritter, was fired. Now Thompson, 25, is making his big-screen debut playing a TV host in *Hardway*, a just-released teen comedy set in 1943. In the movie—the first big-budget effort of exorbitant **Halton** director **John Waters**—the bewitching, 18, native Thompson plays **Cory Collins**, a second-size version of **Britt Clark**, the 1930s *American Bandstand* host. "Collins is not a rebel," said Thompson, "but he has a cause—he is desperate to succeed."

—YVONNE COX with correspondence reports

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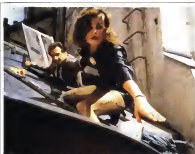
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Ford, Seigner: a wife's disappearance and a journey through the underworld

FILMS

Lost in the City of Light

FRANTZ

Directed by Roman Polanski

Like the movies for which he is famous, the life of Roman Polanski (*Rosemary's Baby*, *Coldwater*) has been marked by danger and suspense. In 1969 his pregnant actress-wife, Sharon Tate, was murdered by Charles Manson and his followers. In 1977 Polanski was charged with the statutory rape of a 13-year-old California model—and fled the United States just before sentencing. Now living in self-imposed exile in Paris, Polanski is obviously still haunted by those incidents, his latest movie—which he co-wrote with Gerard Brach—seriously mines his past. And although *Frantz* is a less-than-grIPPING thriller, it is fascinating as a document of Polanski's feelings about his own bizarre life.

Frantz opens with an American doctor, Richard Walter (Harrison Ford), and his wife, Sandra (Betty Buckley), arriving in Paris to attend a medical convention. Immediately there is a sense of foreboding. During the two-week stay in the city—where the couple honeymooned 10 years before—Sandra tells her husband if he knows where they are. "No, it's changed too much," he replies. One afternoon they settle into a hotel room that is a cold and colorless horror. But after Richard showers, he emerges to find Sandra gone. There is

only one clue—a suitcase that turns out not to be his wife's.

Many of *Frantz*'s details—the disappearance of a spouse, alienation in a foreign place—mirror aspects of Polanski's life. Richard is slowly scared with panic as he begins to think that Sandra has been kidnapped. In his search he meets up with Michelle (Emmanuelle Béart), a beautiful mail courier who guides him through the city's underworld. As he becomes more accustomed to his newly chaotic life, Richard adopts an ironic attitude, one that reflects Polanski's well-known sardonic wit.

The director-screenwriter has filled his movie with nostalgic icons of Americana. The switched suitcase contains a nuclear-detecting device stashed inside a sweater replica of the Statue of Liberty. And unlike the Paris of tourist books, the city is filled with Pizza Huts and U.S.-style bars.

Such images embody the very sadness that pervades *Frantz*—and that mood is more compelling than any twist of plot. It is general in Ford's last performance as a man driven to extremes by the loss he experiences. The movie's title suggests a gritty, fast-paced thriller, instead, the calculated *Frantz* offers grimly humorous moments. Polanski is a man without a country. And in *Frantz*, his homelessness steals the show.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

Scrambled signals

SWITCHING CHANNELS

Directed by Ted Kotcheff

The fourth film version of *The Front Page*, the venerable 1928 Ben Hecht-Charles MacArthur play, is as tight as a big-budget studio movie can get. *Smoking Cigarettes*, starring Kathleen Turner, Bert Reynolds and Christopher Reeve, stumbles in the footsteps of the 1940 classic *His Girl Friday* (starring Cary Grant and Rosalind Russell) and the raucous 1974 remake, also called *The Front Page* (with Walter Matthau and Jack Lemmon). The play itself is fast and funny, peppered with sharp retorts and exaggerated insults. But its tramp card, theatrically speaking, is its subject: newspaper reporters and the lengths to which they will go to get a story. By shifting the action to the less colorful world of television news, the creators of *Smoking Cigarettes* have lost the sparkle of the Hecht-MacArthur gem.

Canadian-born director Ted Kotcheff has attempted to generate physical comedy by having everyone run around in a dazed, different direction at once. That is precisely what happens when the Rooster (Henry Gibson) escapes from death row and finds his way into the studio and star reporter Chrissy Coleman (Turner), hoping for an exclusive interview, finds him in a photographing machine. Meanwhile, station manager John Sullivan (Reynolds) attempts to stall Chrissy, his co-wife, from marrying the rich wing-blame Stephen (Reeve).

As they wander through the movie's labyrinthine plot, the three stars seem to be searching in vain for their characters. As a bleached-blond bubble head with a hair of hights, Reeve is embarrassingly unimpressive. And Bert Reynolds, looking drawn beneath a terrible hairpiece, is unable to master the agility and innocence charm that his role calls for. Only Turner, as the pushy, resourceful Chrissy, costs us on her good will and glamour.

Lacking a comic touch or sense of narrative rhythm, the film-makers have taken farcical material and pushed it to hyperbole. The dialogue and its delivery in *Smoking Cigarettes* are so overdone that everyone appears foolish. They are merely idiots talking out of an idiot box.

—L. OT



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Troubles along the Nile

Throughout history, Egypt has endured cycles of better harvests, the fortunes of its citizens, consistently bound to the life-giving but erratic force that flows through its lands: the Nile River. The country known as the cradle of civilization has traditionally depended on the Nile to provide transport, irrigation and, there recently, to support a thriving tourist industry and to generate hydroelectric power. But because of record low rainfall in North Africa over the past several years, the Nile's water level has been nosing at an alarming rate. Egypt, already beleaguered by problems that include a staggering national debt, plunging oil prices and a population that is outstripping its agricultural resources, now faces environmental catastrophe. The pending crisis has left President Hosni Mubarak's administration apparently at a loss for solutions. Said one senior government official: "We can either pray for rain for the worst—or not."

The Nile, which at 4,130 miles is the longest river in the world, rises from



Nile River: nosing water levels

the African highlands just south of the equator and flows north through Ethiopia, the Sudan and Egypt before it empties into the Mediterranean Sea. By the time it reaches Egypt the sedentary waterways depend for replenishment on yearly floods, which normally occur in August as a result of spring rainfalls in Ethiopia. But over the past eight years Ethiopia's rainfalls have been negligible. Indeed, the drought and resulting famine in that country and in neighboring Sudan have been documented in grisly detail that conservationists anticipated that Egypt would shade similar consequences with the completion, in 1971, of the Aswan High Dam—heralded by some as the greatest piece of construction since the Pyramids. Still, under the present circumstances, even that much-touted water-control system may prove to be ineffective.

Beginning in the mid-19th century, Egypt built several small dams along the Nile to supply irrigation canals and regulate navigation. But the Aswan system, 200 miles upstream from Cairo, was designed to meet all of these possible needs. Engineers store water in a 300-mile-long reservoir—Lake Nasser—which is supposed to operate generically and provide cheap hydroelectric power before flowing on to irrigate the land even in times of low flooding. But lacking replenishment, Lake Nasser's water level has now reached a record low and that level is dropping by about 18 inches each month. At the present rate, the water level will drop to 485 feet—known as level zero—by August. And at that point, officials will have to shut down the turbine generators, leaving the country short of one-quarter of its hydroelectric needs.

Egypt has already experienced severe power shortages a few months ago, in a last-ditch effort to alleviate the problem, the government began to reduce power supplies to rural areas during peak periods of demand. And those problems have resulted from the nosing water levels: agriculture has suffered major setbacks, and tourist visits—one of Egypt's major sources of revenue—have almost completely stopped. The life-crisis stretch of the Nile between Luxor and Aswan is impassable—and in January, the height of the tourist season, cruise ship operators had to shift their passengers onto buses. The slams over the Nile situation has exposed a growing disillusionment with Egypt's present government—whichever official says verbal is capable of doing any of the country's economic problems.

—NABY MAVER with CAROL BERGER in Cairo

A war over medical news

The results of a landmark U.S. research study guaranteed widespread media coverage that some agencies takes every second day reduced the risk of an initial heart attack in healthy males by 47 per cent. But Reuters, a London-based news agency, released those findings on Jan. 26—more than one month after the completion of the study, and 1½ days before *The New England Journal of Medicine* published its report on the five-year project. As a result, *Journal* editors suspended the agency from their advance distribution list for six months. They accused Reuters of breaking an agreement under which news organizations routinely receive advance copies of the medical publications each Monday—on condition that they do not allow their clients to publish or broadcast the contents before 6 p.m. eastern time on Wednesday. Although Reuters officials denied that charge—maintaining that the agency had obtained the results of the aspirin study from other sources—the dispute clearly illustrated the crucial role that the *Journal* now plays in the screening and release of the results of medical research.

Along with a handful of similarly respected professional publications around the world—among them the British research journal *The Lancet*—editors at the 175-year-old *Journal* print new scientific and medical findings only after experts have reviewed the research and pronounced it accurate. Clearly, the *Journal's* acceptance or rejection of an article can profoundly influence a researcher's reputation. But some scientists say that the *Journal's* power to enhance scientific and medical careers has restricted the flow of vital medical information. They say that many researchers are unwilling to discuss their findings openly because they are concerned that doing so would jeopardize publication in a magazine that is viewed by the Massachusetts Medical Society Distinguished Use Research, a health consultant at New Jersey's Princeton University. "The *Journal* is powerful and prestigious because it publishes totally exclusive scientific papers—but that may not be good for science."

Burchard—one of the few critics who is willing to discuss the *Journal's* policy—said that the magazine's policy of submitting research to so-called peer review appears onerous, but only at first glance. Still, declared

Reisbach: "The *New England Journal of Medicine* has banned the manipulation of information and data in a first. Information is not shared because researchers perceive, rightly or wrongly, that the *Journal* forbids it. It is hard to believe that their fear is unjustified and totally in their imaginations."

But *Journal* editor Dr. Arnold Reisman said that the magazine had no objection to researchers discussing their work with colleagues, submitting reports to government agencies and presenting their findings at scientific conferences before the information appears in the *Journal*. Reisman also said that the magazine had no objection to scientists offering reporters about their work—as long as the *Journal* remained the first medical publication to release a full report. Declared Reisman: "We have and thus and



Mubarak: a promise

we have written it time and again. What we caution against is researchers giving away their manuscript so that it might be published in some other medical journal. We don't want to print something that has been published somewhere else."

But as the magazine adheres to that policy of exclusivity, the dispute with Reuters still is a threat to the magazine's carefully timed release of medical news. *Journal* spokesmen say that their weekly embargo gives doctors a better opportunity to study medical breakthroughs in detail before their patients hear about such advances from the mass media in New York City, Des Moines, Moberly, executive office for Reuters in North America, has vowed to publish anything they receive anywhere if the agency gives access to embargoed copies of the magazine during the embargo—it is a course of action that also aims to adapt in order to remain competitive.

—MALCOLM GLEAT with WILLIAM LUTHER in Washington

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Treating an AIDS victim: stricken babies and a worsening prognosis for society

BOOKS

Fear in the age of AIDS

AIDS: THE ULTIMATE CHALLENGE

By Elisabeth Kihler-Ross
(Kohler Books, 308 pages, \$27.95)

When Swiss-born psychiatrist Elisabeth Kihler-Ross published her best-seller, *On Death and Dying*, in 1988, she revolutionized the study of a previously taboo subject. Writing with compassion and, at times, unbridled emotion, the author claimed that people in Western society were often too embarrassed and frightened by the subject of mortality to help dying accept their fate. She outlined five stages in a patient's path to dealing with death: denial and isolation, anger, bargaining, depression and, finally, acceptance. The widely respected study, which outlined ways to meet the psychological needs of the dying, has since become a basic text for medical students. In her latest book, *AIDS: The Ultimate Challenge*, Kihler-Ross claims that, like an individual patient facing death, society is still trapped in a state of denial about the AIDS crisis. Unfortunately, the author never takes her theory any further, preferring to simply rail against callous treatment of those suffering from the disease while elaborating acts of individual compassion.

The public's refusal to treat AIDS seriously becomes painfully evident in Kihler-Ross's account of a meeting she held in her rural Virginia community in 1985 to propose the opening of a hospice for AIDS-stricken babies on her farm. One neighbor predicted that "because of AIDS, the attendance at the

'Mayle Festival' may very well drop next year." In the end, virulent local opposition thwarted Kihler-Ross's plans. Meanwhile, the author writes, hundreds of U.S. infants with the disease continue to die without palliative care. She adds, "We still live in the illusion that it shall happen to thee and then, but not to me."

Despite her concerns, Kihler-Ross fails to provide a hard blueprint for how a complacent society can come to understand AIDS and, if not oblivious against it, at least be more sympathetic toward its victims. She mentions the first attempts of health care professionals in San Francisco to create more humane conditions for those dying of AIDS. Teaching medical staff to be more attuned to the needs of AIDS patients is a positive first step, but the author fails to address the more important challenge of educating the general public.

The prognosis for society in the age of AIDS is poor and it threatens to get even worse, according to Kihler-Ross. She predicts that, as the disease spreads into the social mainstream, people will have to make critical choices on a vast scale. As she puts it, "We have to choose between rejecting millions of our own because of their illness or reaching out to offer help, warmth, and acceptance." Kihler-Ross has made a compassionate case for AIDS patients, but just how the rest of society is to deal with the disease remains as elusive as a cure.

—JARED MITCHELL

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Paradise in the breezes

They are known as "The Islands of Perpetual June" in the two groups of Caribbean islands called Turks and Caicos, gentle easterly trade winds blow almost continuously, and the temperature hovers around 27°C year-round—a climate that would make paradise in many winter-weary Canadians. And 14 years ago a group of islanders began lobbying Ottawa to make the British colony even more inviting to Canadians by fostering a political or economic link between the two nations. Although the proposal has caused considerable debate, Canadian officials recently adopted a wait-and-see attitude pending the outcome of the islands' March 3 general election. Bud Stuart, the former chairman of the nation committee that studied the issue last year, "If the new government wants to tie to the Canadian government about some kind of association, then that's fine."

The idea of a union was seriously proposed in 1978 by New Democratic Party MP Max Saltzman, who died in 1986, but the Liberal government of



Turks and Caicos: pressing for a union

the time quickly responded that it had no interest in becoming a colonial power. Despite that stand, efforts have been steadily increasing by both the Turks and Caicos Development Organization and its Canadian counterpart to emphasize the economic and political benefits of an association. According to Tony de la Cruz, a major supporter of the idea, the union would help Canada's tourism deficit, Canadian investments would strengthen the islands' economy and—after the islands converted to Canadian from U.S. currency—Canadians would not have to pay as much for a holiday in the sun. Added McKenna: "A lot of people are disillusioned with crowded southern Florida and problems in other Caribbean Islands. There is tremendous support for this across the country."

Already, there is substantial—and growing—Canadian investment in the islands. Last year, according to Jack Stuart, Canadian vice-president of the Turks and Caicos Development Organization, Canadians built several private homes on the islands. This year many more are under construction, and the largest new hotel there is to be owned by Canadians. But to many Canadian supporters, the real attraction is the islands' natural environment. Lying halfway between Miami and Puerto Rico and surrounded by 1,800 miles of coral reefs and 600 miles of white-sand beaches, Turks and Caicos—made up of more than 40 islands—offers magnificent scuba diving, snorkelling and sport fishing. And with a population of only 14,000 on the seven inhabited islands, Turks and Caicos is an attractive haven from crowded and expensive resorts. Bud Stuart: "It is a gem on the islands that every islander knows a Canada."

Still, Canadian government officials have expressed many concerns about forming an association with Turks and Caicos. According to Daughney, the only real advantage to such a union would be that the island would use Canadian currency, and that would help with Canada's tourism deficit. At the same time, because Canada would likely assume the islands' \$40-million annual operating deficit—which British air subsidies—the union could have a negative impact on Canadian taxpayers. But officials say that the negotiations will stay on hold until the new government of Turks and Caicos gets a mandate to approach Canada once more. Then—and only then—snowbound Canadians may move one step closer to getting their own islands in the sun.

—NORA UNDERWOOD with MIKE TELESCOFF in Ottawa and correspondence reports

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MEDIA

Radio Moscow comes of age

The disc jockey played Elton John's *Nikita*—a song about a lonely Soviet border guard—and then he played *Everybody Wants to Rule the World* by Britain's Tears for Fears. The program was typical of pop-music radio shows. But the surprise for those listeners who heard those songs earlier this year in the West was that the broadcaster was Radio Moscow—the shortwave radio service that traditionally has served as a dull and predictable platform for Soviet propaganda. Radio Moscow's new format includes lively discussions—and even satire. As well, it occasionally presents the Western point of view with rounded comments from President Ronald Reagan—one of the more evasive signs of the recent Soviet policy of *glasnost*, or openness. Said Boris Belitsky, a Radio Moscow spokesman: "Glasnost has had a tremendous effect on our operation. We now have a great deal of debate on political issues, where in the past we simply presented our point of view."

Radio listeners, frustrated by the difficulty of tuning in the low-fidelity shortwave signals, have mainly ignored Radio Moscow and its counterparts—including Radio Canada International. But shortwave radios equipped with signal-seeking push buttons have helped to create a growing number of shortwave fans. Experts estimate that there are now two million North Americans tuning in to Radio Moscow programs including *The Jazz Show* and *Moore's Mailbox*.

Still, Larry Black, a professor at the Institute for Soviet and East European Studies at Ottawa's Carleton University, says that listeners should not treat Radio Moscow's more free-wheeling approach as an indication of any fundamental change in Soviet ideology. Added Black: "The big mistake people make is to judge the Soviets by Western standards." Indeed, Belitsky brushed aside the suggestion that Radio Moscow's new format reflects any deviation from the official party line. He added, "It is simply a more balanced, more impartial and fuller coverage of the issues." In any event, subscribers have say that hearing the Soviet viewpoint, collected by a sense of fun in a refreshing change.

—ANNE CASELLES



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BOOKS

A Chilean nightmare

CHILE: DEATH IN THE SOUTH
By Jacobo Timerman
Translated by Robert Cae
(Random House, 285 pages, \$22.95)

A Argentine journalist Jacobo Timerman brings a unique perspective to his latest new study of Chile and the excesses of its dictatorial government. Suffering at the hands of his own country's military authorities between 1977 and 1984, Timerman writes, "I was kidnapped, imprisoned, tortured and exiled." Those experiences, which the author detailed in his 1984 memoir, *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, invest *Chile: Death in the South* with an unmistakable sense of moral authority. At the same time, Timerman's obvious affection for Chile gives the reader an intimate appreciation of a nation's tragedy.

For Timerman, Chile 15 years ago was not only the most stable democracy in Latin America but perhaps the most modern society on the continent. He recalls staying up late with friends as warm nights in the Chilean capital, Santiago, drinking excellent domestic wine and reading the love verses of the country's Nobel Prize-winning poet, Pablo Neruda. But, based on a return visit in 1985, Timerman declares, "My Chile no longer exists."

The author eloquently expresses his contempt for the torture and terrorism of Gen. Augusto Pinochet's regime, which he documents with testimonials from victims. And he castigates the administration of former U.S. president Richard Nixon, which he blames for the 1973 overthrow of leftist president Salvador Allende. Less predictably, Timerman sees events in Chilean for what he sees as a tragedy in dealing with the harsh reality of Pinochet's iron rule. Timerman contends that the opposition must emerge from its confusion, abandon nostalgia and find creative ways to take the initiative away from Pinochet.

Until Chile finds a road to reconciliation, Timerman says, the country will remain politically, economically and culturally mired. But the author finds some comfort in the knowledge that in the halls of Santiago his friends still drink warm wine and sing—although many of the songs are now banned.

—DON CUMMINS

A satirical first strike

SUMMIT
By D. M. Thomas
(Lester & Orpen Dewey,
285 pages, \$20.95)

The superpowers' halting search for peace tends to be a very hair-raising business. The stakes are so high at the various summits and disarmament talks that to laugh at the participants seems inappropriate. But it is obvious from his new novel, *Summit*, that British writer D. M. Thomas (The White Hotel) finds glory in laughing matter in East-West haggling over the world's future. Inspired by the 1986 mini-summit between President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is, indeed, the new book is a blackly funny satire—a terrifying reminder of the part that mutual misunderstanding and sheer stupidity can play, even at the highest levels of global diplomacy.

Thomas's version of the U.S. president is a hilarious spoof of Reagan. Vincent (Pope) O'Reilly is a former Hollywood star whose mind is afflicted with what Thomas labels "vegetaritis"—a perceptual problem that makes him respond to the question prior to the one just asked. As a result, his interviews with the media sound like dialogues from a madhouse—a wistful reference to Reagan's poor hearing and the frequent misinterpretations of his impromptu speeches.

Perpetually confused, O'Reilly journeys to a Soviet-American summit in Switzerland, believing that he must persuade the Soviets to accept an American gift of 20 million (ton, or submarines) birth-control devices. Meanwhile, his aides think that he stands for "Independent Unilateral Defense"—a system for winding down nuclear missiles similar to Reagan's own Star Wars plan. The Soviet leader, Alexander Gorbachev, cannot figure out why O'Reilly is trying to extend the negotiations on him—or why, in another absurd gesture, the U.S. leader is willing to toss in the state of California as a sweetener—but the two leaders get on marvelously anyway. Still, mutual suspicion eventually dooms their meeting, although their final news release claims it is a great success. *Summit's* irreverence generates a healthy skepticism in its readers, the kind that refuses to be misled by propaganda from high places and demands results instead.

—JOHN HEMMICK

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bitterly comic exposé of supposedly bizarre characters doing unbelievable things for the highest-sounding reasons. Later in the season Miller will direct George Chapman's 17th-century tragedy *Drum d'enhout* and Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Apart from *Providence*, Miller insists that he has no plan to transfer the plays to other theatres for extended runs. "I like them to be like shooting stars," he said, "flashing across the firmament."

Miller's dual allegiance to science and art originates with his family. His father was a celebrated child psychiatrist who painted and sculpted in his spare time. His mother was a novelist and the biographer of such figures as Robert Browning. Miller was first drawn to medicine, studying natural sciences at Cambridge University and later becoming a doctor. Although he appeared in two student productions at university, he did not make his first serious foray into the theatre until he was two years out of medical school. By then he married to Rachel Miller, also a physician. Miller became one of the four creators of *Beyond the Fringe*, which opened in London and later travelled to New York and Toronto. But he regarded it as only a temporary diversion. "I reasoned," he said, "that I could make money out of it. I wouldn't make much in my first five years of

doctors." Besides, medicine was "socially very successful, prestigious," Miller recalled. "Doctors die earlier than other people; they commit suicide, they drink more."

As a scientist, Miller has created television programs and books explaining the human organism while continuing to pursue his interest in the arts. In 1982, while a visiting professor at McMaster University in Hamilton, he researched the neurological basis of human speech, perception and the use of language. But his commitment to theatre has been as strong as his love of medicine. Absentee performance in the early 1980s, he went on to direct both opera and plays, for the stage and television. And from 1970 to 1975 he served as associate director at the National Theatre, one of Britain's leading theatrical institutions.

Miller has established a reputation for an iconoclastic attitude toward the classics. His acclaimed 1982 production of the Verdi opera *Requiem* was set in Manhattan's Mafia underworld, and was staged at London's Coliseum and, later, at New York's Metropolitan Opera House. Miller has compiled his approach to "Parsifal" taking an existing picture and making another work of art out of it. He joked, "The history of art is the history of transforma-

tion." But he is also concerned about finding what he calls "meaningless changeable art at the heart of a play, a relationship between people occurring in a particular order."

Throughout his career, Miller has moved readily between the worlds of art and science. He once said that he would have to leave the stage because he distrusted a way of life where the barometer of achievement was applause. Yet when a British actor sought Miller's help in demanding his daughter, a qualified doctor, from becoming an actress, Miller talked with her until 3 a.m. and convinced her that she should go to drama school.

Despite his accomplishments with the sciences, Miller retains his initial attraction to stand-up comedy. He gives with enthusiasm when he recalls such 1960s American comics as Shelley Berman, Mike Nichols and Elaine May. He can deliver inter-perfect reproductions of their routines, especially contorting his gawking limbs as he once did on stage. But Miller extends that "even the most serious plays have unexpectedly comic elements." For all his breadth of learning and accomplishment, Jonathan Miller's great strength and appeal is that he remains a comeflake at heart.

—ROBERT CUSHMAN in London

Casualties of love

THE NORMAL HEART

By Larry Kramer

Directed by Kevin Spacey

For most of society, AIDS is still a dark, distant death on the horizon. But for the homosexual community, it is a monster at the loose, a terrifying and terrifying presence that drags friends and lovers to an often hideous death. *The Normal Heart* is a cry from the AIDS battle area—both a toast against ignorance and hysteria and a testimony to human courage in the face of devastation. The play was written by American Larry Kramer, who scripted Ken Russell's 1989 film, *Women on Top*. In 1981 Kramer and several other men responded to the nation's spread of the disease in New York City by founding the Gay Men's Health Crisis Center. They said they were appalled that *The New York Times* refused to give AIDS major coverage—and that the city administration was unwilling to fund their counseling of victims. *The Normal Heart*, which is now receiving a New York production at Toronto's Bathurst Street Theatre, is the story of how Kramer and his friends begged and bullied the authorities into taking notice of the virus.

In the play, Kramer portrays himself as a charming, argumentative New York writer called Ned Weeks, played with robustness by George Sperdakos. Ned's opening word turns *The Normal Heart* into much more than a play about AIDS—it is also a meditation on what it means to be homosexual. While many of Ned's friends regard their homosexuality as primarily a better for everyone, for the here it is about the unique exploration of human potential. His list of some of the great men of history who were known to be homosexual—from Plato to U.S. poet Walt Whitman—is one of the most moving moments of the evening, a dramatic understanding of his argument that homosexuality is a normal state.

But the drama is good theatre mainly because it deals with the suffering of individuals. When Ned's witty lover, Peter (Peter Millard), contracts AIDS, he enters a hellish labyrinth where love is his only savior. And while his deathbed wishes to Ned is obviously melodramatic—he dies right after saying "I do"—*The Normal Heart* stays powerful as few plays manage to do.

—JOHN BARNES

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Lanoue, with Bono (left), U2 at Grammy Awards (right), setting high musical standards with an artist's sensitivity

MUSIC

A musical magician at the controls

In the wake of a best-selling album and a record-breaking world tour, Ireland's U2 has grown accustomed to the bright lights. The group's brazen side was obvious last week at New York's Radio City Music Hall where, after the band was the Grammy Award for best rock group, guitarist The Edge (David Evans) lightly acknowledged their debt to everyone from Dr. Keith Westheimer to Bar Mitzvah. Later that evening, when *The Joshua Tree* won the album-of-the-year award, singer Bono (Paul Hewson) roared the band's reputation as rock's social conscience. But Bono turned serious when he spoke about two shy-looking men standing in the group's shadow, Brian Eno and Daniel Lanois, "without whom we could never have made this record." By winning an award for coproducing *The Joshua Tree*, Canadian Lanois had a chance to share the spotlight with rock's reigning group. But within music circles, Lanois has already emerged from behind the scenes, with several recent hit recordings in his credit, the studio parties from *Blindfire*, and, has established himself as

a globe-trotting world-class producer.

During the past four years Lanois, 34, has produced a succession of albums that are some of the decade's most important rock recordings. After coproducing U2's 1984 album, *The Unforgettable Fire*, with Eno, Lanois came to the attention of British rock star Peter Dinklage, who hired him to produce a sound track for the movie *Being*. Alan Parker's abandoned son-in-law, Tim Lanois, hired Lanois to work on his best-selling 1988 album, *So*, and such

Top-10 hits as *Singapore*. Then, Robbie Robertson, former leader of The Band, employed Lanois to produce his long-awaited solo debut album when Lanois was already supposed to work again with U2. Lanois divided his time between the two projects and ended up with two more triumphs, while Robbie Robertson rose critical praise. The *Joshua Tree* went on to sell more than 12 million copies worldwide.

Inevitably in rock music, record producers—the technicians responsible for orchestrating an album's sound—play such a dominant role that the final product bears their stamp more than that of the musician. The sub-epitome yet sensitive Lanois, however, has a reputation for a lighter touch and for bringing out the artist's best. Said U2's The Edge: "Dan has incredible fire. Whatever he touches becomes great." An accomplished musician in his own right—he plays both guitar and drums—he is renowned for high musical standards combined with sensitivity to what the artist is trying to accomplish. "The music you're trying to do, you can't be very tough in the studio, tough on your performance," said U2 bassist Adam Clayton. "But he always

takes care to check out how you're singing, and nothing gets done unless you feel right."

Sometimes Lanois even helps to flesh out the bare bones of a song. When he was working with U2 on *The Joshua Tree* in Dublin in 1986, Robertson served with two compositions that the former Band member described as "film sketches." With direction from Lanois and accompaniment from U2, those sketches became two of his album's most powerful tracks, *Treaty* and *Secret Fire of Love*. Said Lanois: "When I hear something new that would make a stronger record, I push for it. Good or bad, I pushed Robbie into writing a whole new batch of songs while we were working."

Global, Robertson and members of U2 also credit Lanois with a gift for spontaneity. During the conventional studio environment, Lanois chooses more informal settings whenever possible. He recorded parts of *Unforgettable Fire* in a castle outside of Dublin and, for *So*, set up recording equipment in a dairy barn on Gabriel's new Irish island. In such cases, Gabriel said, Lanois is making "the magic of the moment." To help spark a magical performance in those settings, Lanois often picks up an instrument and joins in. "I don't spend much time in the control room," he told *Mojo*'s T. try and get out there, listen to the songs and get to the bottom of the arrangements—and get involved." He added, "If you're standing right next to someone, a lift of an eyebrow will convey a message that would be lost behind a piece of glass."

That intuitive approach to music-making comes naturally to Lanois. Born in Hull, Que., he grew up in a musical French-Canadian family whose kitchen was as much a venue of jamming as any fourteenth-century cathedral. His first love was country fiddle, while his mother, Jill, played piano and sang. When their parents separated in 1963, Lanois, sister Jocelyne and brothers Ronald and Robert, moved with their mother to Hamilton. After high school he began playing guitar in country bands. While backing such acts as Sylvia Tyson, he built a small recording studio with Robert in their mother's basement laundry room.

That operation grew into the Great American Studios, and Lanois became a sought-after producer for such Canadian acts as the now-defunct Marbles and the Maffins (in which Jocelyne played bass), *The Parakeet Club* and *Lulu*. Then, in 1976, British recording artist Eno—fascinated for his work with the band Talking Heads—brought about a quiet little Hamilton studio and traveled there to record some experimental music. His collaborations with Lanois became an influential series that

Eno called "ambient sound recordings," and led Lanois to work with U2. Two years ago Lanois sold the studio so that he could concentrate on his career and travel to wherever his production jobs took him. According to industry analysts, rock producers of Lanois's caliber command five per cent of a record's sales for their services. But although he gets regularly between New York and London, England, where he owns an apartment, he keeps close ties to Hamilton. In fact, he recently bought a warehouse in Hamilton for family and friends to use for recording.

After spending the past 10 years helping other artists, Lanois is now focusing on his own music. "I've had the lid on it for a while," he said. "Now I've got time on my side." Said brother Robert: "Artists have needed him, and he's needed them to bloom. Now he's reached a time in his life when he can allow his own music to come out." Despite production offers from such acts as Mick Jagger and David Byrne, Lanois—who is single—is spending the winter in New Orleans, where he is working as his own material in a portable studio. Already, he says, several record labels have expressed interest in his planned solo album. Lanois insists that he will eventually return to record production. But for the moment, the man who has guided some of rock's biggest stars is pursuing his own musical course.

—NICHOLAS ARNOLD

MACLEAN'S BESTSELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The Tempest*, Margaret Atwood
- 2 *Kidnapped*, David (1)
- 3 *My*, Guy Vanderhaeghe
- 4 *Wendell's*, David (1)
- 5 *The Book of the Dead*, Wayne (1)
- 6 *Seven*, Michael Ondaatje
- 7 *Murder*, Peter (1)
- 8 *Brown and Blue*, Peter (1)
- 9 *Hot Money*, Peter (1)
- 10 *Lighthouse*, Peter (1)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Elizabeth Taylor*, Gail (1)
- 2 *Time*, Peter (1)
- 3 *Illustrated History of Canada*, edited by Bruce (1)
- 4 *Canadian Living Cookbook*, Virginia (1)
- 5 *Canada's*, the Millennium, Peter (1)
- 6 *The Great Depression*, Peter (1)
- 7 *Canada's*, the 20th Century, edited by Bruce (1)
- 8 *Change: The Art of the Deal*, Peter (1)
- 9 *Illustrated History*, Peter (1)
- 10 *Friends in High Places*, Peter (1)

(1) Province not sold

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Only from the mind of Maclean's.



Lanois in his studio, having time for his own recording.

The president has been chosen

By Alina Fotheringham

Know, Dr. Foth, it is certainly propitious to interest your personality in your political.

Maureen, kindly the parameters if not the specificity of the pressing vacuum is your criterion.

Well, yes, I'm trying to give my knowledge and Ottawa confuses me.

Those who have to work there.

The thing is, I want to know if there's going to be an election this year.

There will be an election called the minute the Tories rise past 35 per cent in the polls, even if it has to be held on Christmas Day.

You mean Brian Mulroney doesn't respect Christmas?

Brian Mulroney respects only polls. If Santa Claus was a politician, he'd put him on the payroll.

Well, Alina, I can't understand all this. The Liberals keep hanging on there, but no one seems to like John Turner.

Yes, have a magnificent grasp of the obvious.

I keep hearing this rumor about Turner.

It's true.

You mean the one about...

That's right. He's not going to run in Vancouver again.

Why not?

Because John can read. He was a Rhodes Scholar. His polls tell him he can't win.

What's going to beat him?

The Conservatives have determined that a woman is the best bet to whip the reluctant base voter.

What's the woman?

Just a minute. The Tories also know the redrawing of the riding boundaries will bring in a larger ethnic vote.

So?

So the solution is to find a hyphenated-Canadian female.

Who might that be?

The Conservatives would like to run Diana Laam.

What's Diana Laam?

A very bright, and lady Longtime Vancouver female. Went to university in the riding. Very well-connected. Has recently wound up her public-relations firm "to pursue other interests."

Alina Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

So that's the answer?

Nothing is certain in politics, or in life, in case you hadn't heard. The party is also considering another candidate.

Knocking off Turner is a serious matter. I hesitate to ask, but who might that be?

Lady, none of Kim Campbell. Very swift. Moved from Vancouver style politics to the Social Credit caucus of Premier Bill Vander Slag.

So why would she leave that collection of voters?

Because Vander Slag won't put her in his cabinet. He's too bright for him—which ain't hard.



So she's going to be the candidate?

Nothing is certain in politics.

Why doesn't Quendra like Turner?

I thought he used to be a big hero at the University of B.C.

That was in the Palaeolithic era.

Do the books have a specific brief?

Well, for one thing, he doesn't maintain a real home in the riding. Leaders consider this pasting space is very narrow.

So what happens to Vander Slag's John?

Back in Toronto. He's not going to run in Keweenaw.

Can he find a Toronto seat?

He can, probably find a seat. The question is, can he find a party? It seems to be somewhat in hiding from him.

You seem to be somewhat down on John Turner...

Not at all. Good friend of mine. Have known him since spinning yarns a thousand years ago. Like his wife.

Are you serious?

Of course. Brian Mulroney and I see like two matchsticks. That's why I live in

Washington and he lives in Ottawa. So a fine son's start. Ed Broadbent hasn't stepped on my foot in years. These of us in journalism have an infinite capacity for tolerance of those who have had the misfortune to go into politics. Good Robinson and I get along very well. Ask him.

You're a veritable well of useful information today. Anything else going?

Certainly. Jake Epp, he of the saintly countenance and the growing gift for baffling, has given up thoughts of seeking the Winston Tory leadership.

Why is that, O man?

Brian has severely shown him the results of his polls—the polls Brian says he never reads.

And those polls?

I just told you. They are on the slow but gradual rise.

Just, who does not smoke, drink or look at girls, has decided that Ottawa is an intellectual hotspot in comparison to a Winnipeg winter.

Anything else?

Of course. Brian Peckford is so distracted by paranoia about the nasty press that he can't wait to get out and enjoy the lozenge world.

So?

So, John Crosbie, despite his dervish, would still love the Sefton as premier of Newfoundland, the ultimate Bessie on long.

He is bound to burn with the Transport portfolio, far beneath the sharpest mind in the cabinet, and he knows he will never be prime minister since he will never learn French, let alone Chinese and German.

New year's cooking. Anything else?

Yes. William Vander Slag is a one-term premiere. Don Getty, who has binged his head on his Peter Principle, would like to find a graceful way out. He's a one-term nonworder too.

I can see you're winding up for a critic.

What's the topic?

Senator Bill Bradley of the Democrats will beat Senator Bob Dole of the Republicans for president on Nov. 8.

Who is the name of God in Bill Bradley?

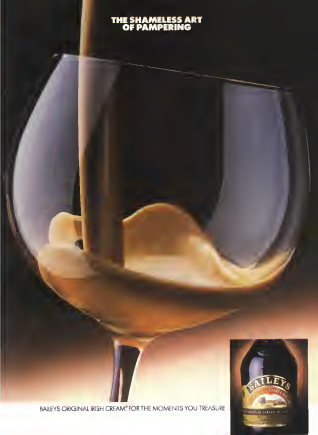
Shut up. You know's best paying attention. I've explained it all in a previous column.

Go, Dr. Foth, I'd really like to thank you for the exquisite misadventures of the presidency.

It was almost a pleasure.



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